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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND

1620—1789

BY

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN

IN TWO VOLUMES

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XII.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.[1]

1708–1764.

THE deportation of African negroes — commonly called the slave-trade — was a movement of importance in the commerce of the latter part of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most momentous and effective change instituted in the minds of men by this nineteenth century is in the general conception and treatment of human slavery. The seventeenth century organised the new Western countries, and created an immense opportunity for labor. The eighteenth coolly and deliberately set Europe at the task of depopulating whole districts of western Africa, and of transporting the captives, by a necessarily brutal, vicious, and horrible traffic, to the new civilisations of America. The awakened conscience of the nineteenth century checked the horrid stream of forced migration, but an enormous social structure had been reared on servitude and enforced labor.

Changed aspect of slavery.

North American slavery fell, carrying with it a vast structure of political, social, and philanthropic ideas.

[1] This chapter was read at the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1887.

Looking backward one and a half or two and a half centuries, we are amazed and humiliated when we consider how little people knew what they were doing. When the old and enlightened countries sought eagerly for slaves, and taught their colonial offshoots to depend upon them, they dug a deep pit for their own children.

Attitude of New England.

New England entered upon this long path of twisted social development — this wanton destruction of barbaric life in the hope of new civilised life, this perversion of the force of the individual barbarian into an opportunity for social mischief — with no more and no less consciousness than prevailed elsewhere at that time. The Winthrops and other Puritan colonists asked and received Indian captives for slaves as freely as any partisan went for loot or plunder. Indians were enslaved on all sides as long as the local tribes lasted;[1] then Maine, then the Carolinas,[2] and other districts, furnished captives for a never-ceasing demand for labor.[3] Cotton Mather[4] employed his black servant, showing as little regard for the rights of man as the Boston merchant or Narragansett planter. Mather's servant, "Spaniard," belonged to a Christian society or church of negroes formed in 1693. Spaniard left a copy of the "Rules" of the society with Judge Sewall in $17\frac{3}{14}$. The judge indorsed this fact on the paper. Among other obligations this was conspicuous: "Our coming to the Meeting shall never be without the *Leave* of such as have Power over us."[5] Sewall's was about the earliest and almost the only voice raised in behalf of a larger humanity. Fortunately for the moral development of our beloved

[1] Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 72.

[2] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1715, p. 516.

[3] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 337; *Essex Inst.*, vii. 73; *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1711, p. 233.

[4] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1862, p. 352. Or Increase Mather. See *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, vi. 192.

[5] For Sewall's copy reprinted, see *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, v. 419.

colonies, the climate was too harsh, the social system too simple, to engender a good economic employment of black labor. The simple industrial methods of each New England homestead, described in so many ways through these pages, made a natural barrier against an alien social system including either black or copper-colored dependents. The blacks soon dwindled in numbers, or dropped out from a life too severe for any but the hardiest and firmest-fibred races.

The mother country knew no humanity, but only an economic opportunity, in the enslavement of the negro. The Royal African Company,[1] in their "Declaration," as early as 1662, indicate the sentiment of England in this business. Other nations were invading the African trade, and there was danger that America "be rendered useless in their growing Plantations through want of that usual supply of Servants, which they have hitherto had from *Africa*." It was made a constant care for colonial governors[2] to forward the affairs of this slave-dealing corporation, which included the king, Duke of York, and many leading persons. In 1695 the traffic in negroes was considered the best and most profitable branch of British commerce.[3] It was a melancholy omen of the immense significance of the slave-trade in that commerce that the gold coin, used even more than the sovereign as a unit of common prices, was named for Guinea, whence gold and negroes were taken together.

An economic movement.

Slavery was a small factor in New England, because economic laws forbade its growth. It was managed as humanely, perhaps, as such a system could be conducted. It was not absolute constraint, nor a permanent confinement. A negro man and woman in Rhode Island, in 1735, by "Ind'y & Frugality, scrap'd together £200, or

[1] *Declaration*, Carter-Brown Library, p. 1.
[2] *Doc. N. York*, iii. 246, 261.
[3] Cary, *British Trade*, pp. 74, 76.

£300." They sailed from Newport to their own country, Guinea, where their savings gave them an independent fortune.[1] The slave-trade was likewise a small constituent in itself, but it exercised a great influence in the whole commerce of the first half of the eighteenth century. Any active element in trade, anything much needed at the moment, affects the general movement of commerce much more than its actual amount and mere particular value would indicate.

Its place in commerce.

Massachusetts writers have always been especially sore at the point where the trade in African negroes is touched. If they had admitted that in fact none knew at the time the enormity of the offence, and that Massachusetts partook of the common public sentiment which trafficked in Indians or negroes as carelessly as in cattle, their argument would be more consistent. Massachusetts attained enough in her history that is actual and real; it is not necessary to prove that she was endued with superhuman forecast, or a pragmatical morality. Instead of this simple avowal, they admit the good foundation of the indictment, then plead in extenuation of the crime, after the manner of Tristam Shandy's wet-nurse.

In the absence of exact statistics we must trace the course of the trade in collateral reports and evidence. Dr. Belknap, in his friendly correspondence with Judge Tucker in 1795 concerning slavery in Massachusetts, addressed letters to many leading men with various queries. The replies show, among other matters, the general prevalence of the trade in the province. Dr. John Eliot says: "The *African trade* was carried on (in Massachusetts), and commenced at an early period; to a small extent compared with *Rhode Island*, but it made a considerable branch of our commerce (to judge from the number of our still-houses, and masters of vessels now living who have been in the trade). It declined very little till the Revolution." [2]

Massachusetts.

[1] *Bos. Evening Post*, 1735.

[2] 5 *Mass. H. C.*, iii. 382.

Samuel Dexter says: "Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether any have been imported into that town by its own merchants, I am unable to say. I have more than fifty years ago seen a vessel or two with slaves brought into Boston, but do not recollect where they were owned. At that time it was a very rare thing to hear the trade reprobated. . . . About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts, and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persuasion that the slave-trade was *malum in se*." [1]

Thomas Pemberton answers: "We know that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes out and home. Some of the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies. Some were brought to Boston and Charlestown, and sold to town and country purchasers by the head, as we sell sheep and oxen." [2]

John Adams says: "Argument might have some weight in the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, but the real cause was the multiplication of labouring white people, who would no longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury. This principle has kept negro slavery out of France, England, and other parts of Europe." [3]

From these reminiscences we turn now to the meagre accounts of the trade as it existed. Rhode Island, or the modern Newport, was undoubtedly the main port of the New England slave-trade. The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations treated her Indian captives and slaves well.[4] From the

Rhode Island.

[1] 5 *Mass H. C.*, iii. 384, 385. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 392. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 402.
[4] *R. I. C. R.*, i. 243; ii. 535; iii. 483; and iv. 193.

necessity of her situation, and from the enlightenment received from Roger Williams, she was more humane than her neighbors in her treatment of the Indian race. In Connecticut, as late as 1711, a family of "Indian servants," consisting of Rachel and her seven children, were distributed by will; they were called "blacks."[1] Rhode Island went into the African slave-trade, it being the rising, profitable venture of the time. Newport was a port of the third or fourth class in 1676, far below Boston or Salem. By the turn of the century its enterprise increased greatly, and for fifty years its commerce rivalled in activity, though not in extent, that of Boston. Massachusetts had the fisheries by priority and the natural advantage of position. In the new development of the eighteenth century, rum-distilling was a chief factor, as has been shown. Rhode Island's new energy seized upon this industry in company with Massachusetts. A free supply of rum with new vessels carried the Newport men into the rising slave-trade. In these ventures they had much Massachusetts capital engaged with them.

The British view.

In 1708 the British Board of Trade addressed a circular letter to all the colonies relative to negro slaves.[2] To stop the iniquity? Oh, no! "It being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage," they desired the most particular statements concerning the numbers imported by the Royal African Company and by private traders. The trade had been laid open to private competition in the year 1698 by Parliament.

Newport ventures.

Governor Cranston replied December 5, 1708,[3] that from 1698 to December 25, 1707, no negroes were imported into Rhode Island from Africa; that in 1696 the brigantine Seaflower, Thomas Windsor,

[1] Caulkins, *New Lon.*, p. 330.
[2] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 53.
[3] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 54, 55.

master, brought from Africa forty-seven negroes, sold fourteen in the colony at £30 to £35 per head; the rest he carried by land "to Boston, where his owners lived." In 1700 one ship and two sloops sailed directly from Newport to the coast of Africa; Edwin Carter commanded the ship, and was part owner in the three vessels. With him sailed Thomas Bruster and John Bates, merchants of Barbadoes, and "separate traders from thence to the coast of Africa." All these vessels carried cargoes to Barbadoes, and disposed of them there. It would seem that West India capital also availed of the advantages of Newport for prosecuting this commerce.

It will be observed that Governor Cranston is careful to limit his statement to December 25, 1707. In February, $170\frac{7}{8}$,[1] the colony laid an impost of £3 on each negro imported. In April it enacted that the drawback allowed in the first act, in case the negro was exported again, should be rescinded. There must have been a free movement of negroes, either from Africa direct, or by the way of the West Indies, to have occasioned such watchful legislation. In 1712,[2] and again in 1715,[3] the act was tinkered. The Assembly gravely remitted the duties on "two sucking slaves" from Barbadoes in 1716.[4] The impost amounted to enough by 1729 to justify an appropriation dividing it, one half toward paving the streets of Newport, one half toward "the great bridges on the main."[5] The tax was repealed in 1732.[6]

We may judge of the state of the public conscience

[1] There was an act for the same purpose in $170\frac{1}{2}$.

[2] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 134. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 209. The trade was well established at this time. *The Friends' Yearly Meeting Record*, in 1717 (*Moses Brown MS.*, "Materials Hist. Friends," R. I. H. S.), says: "The subject of Slaves considered, and advise given that Letters be Written to the Islands & Elsewhere not to send any more slaves here to be sold by any Friend."

[5] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 424. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

touching slavery and the movement of the slave-trade by the collateral arguments of a writer in the "Boston News Letter"[1] in 1718. In the previous year there had been eighty burials of Indians and negroes in Boston. The writer argued that the loss at £30 each amounted to £2,400. If white servants had been employed instead, at £15 for the time of each, the "town had saved £1,200." A man could procure £12 to £15 to purchase the time of a white servant that could not pay £30 to £50 for a negro or Indian. "The Whites Strengthens and Peoples the Country, others do not." Such political economy satisfied the artless publicists of that time.

The Boston idea.

The merchants of Boston quoted negroes, like any other merchandise demanded by their correspondents. Mr. Thomas Amory had frequent calls from North Carolina. In 1720 he buys for Thomas Bell a man at £60, though they often brought £80. "Since the Law about slaves passed they prove better than they did, and no one sells, but endeavours to buy."[2] In 1723 he sends out a female house-servant bought at £50, on "condition to export her, else she would have been worth £70." Again, in 1724, "a good likely fellow that speaks English sells from £70 to £80." Again, "Nobody sells without some fault." "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here and one from Rhode Island."[3] The "Boston News Letter" advertises in 1726 "Several choice Gold Coast Negros lately arrived."[4] Felt notes a cargo received in Boston in 1727, the highest sale from which was at £80.[5] In 1736 the "News Letter"[6] has "just imported from Guinea, a parcel of likely young negroes, boys and girls." Advertisements of "imported" negroes, not specifying their locality, are frequent. The

[1] March 3, 1718.
[2] *MS. Letters.*
[3] Amory, *MS. Letters.*
[4] *News Letter*, October 13th.
[5] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 416.
[6] December 29th.

inventories in Boston and in the various towns often enumerate them, generally one or two in a family. In 1715 Charles Hobby,[1] of Boston, leaves six, two at £50, four at £40 each. In 1735 John Jekyll[2] was responsible for five; one at £85, three at £65, one at £50. In one case we find two cradles for negroes. In 1740 Richard Hunt[3] had seven. The prices show the inflation of the currency: Great Cuffee at £200, Andrew £150, Will and Little Cuffee £140 each, Tommy £150, Rose £110, and poor Boston only £80. In 1731 Jahleel Brinton[4] at Newport devises three negroes, a child, and an Indian woman.

The Pepperells did not import negroes directly from Africa; their vessels brought them frequently from the West Indies.[5] Indeed, it was said "almost every vessel in the West India trade would return with a few."[6] The West Indies, being the large market, naturally controlled the destination of cargoes, even when the vessels went from New England, as we have seen in one instance at Newport.[7]

Governor Hunter reported to the Lords of Trade in 1718 that no negroes came from Africa to New York direct in British vessels,[8] but "the duties laid on Negroes from ye other Colonies are intended to encourage their (our) own shipping and discourage the importing their refuse & sickly Negroes here from other Colonies."[9] In 1731 President Van Dam,[10] arguing again that the New York duty did not injure Great Britain, mentions a vessel belonging to that colony with a considerable number of negroes on board from Africa.

New York.

[1] *Suffolk P. R.*, xix. 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 310.
[3] *Ibid.*, xxxv. 42.
[4] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 89.
[5] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 28.
[6] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk;* and see *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 231.
[7] See above, p 454.
[8] Yet the record says also that private traders imported into New York, 1700–1726, 1,573 negroes from the West Indies, and 822 from the coast of Africa and Madagascar. *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 814.
[9] *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 509.
[10] *Ibid.*, v. 927.

The vessels.

The African trade from Newport and Boston was conducted in sloops, brigantines, schooners, snows, generally of forty or fifty tons burden. One brigantine is thus described: "Sixty feet length by the keel, straight rabbet, and length of the rake forward to be fourteen feet, three foot and one half of which to be put into the keel, so that she will then be sixty-three feet keel and eleven feet rake forward. Twenty-three feet by the beam, ten feet in the hold, and three feet ten inches between decks and twenty inches waste."[1]

The 3 ft. 10 in. was the height allowed the slaves; in later and worse times this was reduced to 3 ft. 3 in., with ten inches to thirteen inches surface room for each. The abuses led to a law restricting the number of slaves to two and one half for each ton. In the early times we are treating, the number was about one and one half to a ton. The value of the vessels engaged was not large. The Sanderson brigantine, whose voyages I shall introduce, was offered new in 1745 for £450, Jamaica currency. The snow Susey was bought in Boston, in 1759, with outfit, for £568, lawful money.

Small vessels were considered more profitable than large ones, and they were handled by small crews, — the captain, two mates, and about six men. Generally a captain and mate, two or three men, and a boy sufficed. When the voyage was to the West Indies, a cooper was included, who made bungs, heads, etc., on the outward trip, to be set up, with Taunton and other staves, together with Narragansett hoops, into barrels and hogsheads when he came into port. White-oak staves went into rum casks, and red-oak into sugar hogsheads. There were two grades of water casks, "common" and "Guinea;" the latter were worth two and a half to three dollars, or one third more than the former.

[1] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 311–319, 338–345. George C. Mason's statements from MS. records, which I use freely.

The West Indies afforded the great demand for negroes; they also furnished the raw material supplying the manufacture of the main merchandise which the thirsty Gold Coast drank up in barter for its poor, banished children. Governor Hopkins stated[1] that, for more than thirty years prior to 1764, Rhode Island sent to the Coast annually eighteen vessels carrying 1,800 hhds. rum. It displaced French brandies in the trade of the Coast after 1723. The commerce in rum and slaves afforded about £40,000 per annum for remittance from Rhode Island to Great Britain. Molasses and poor sugar, distilled in Boston and more especially in Newport into rum, made the staple export to Africa. Some obtained gallon for gallon, of molasses, but the average was 96 to 100. Newport had twenty-two still-houses; Boston had the best example, owned by a Mr. Childs. The cost of distilling was five and a half pence per gallon. Cisterns and vats cost 14*s.* to 16*s.* per 100 gallons in 1735, not including lumber; three copper stills and heads, three pewter worms, and two pewter cranes cost in London £546.11.3. The quantity of rum distilled was enormous, and in 1750 it was estimated that Massachusetts alone consumed more than 15,000 hhds. molasses for this purpose. The average price in the West Indies of molasses was 13*d.* or 14*d.* per gallon. The consumption of rum in the fisheries and lumbering and shipbuilding districts was large; the export demand to Africa was immense.

Rum from West India molasses.

It was very importunate. Captain Isaac Freeman, with a coasting sloop, in 1752, wanted a cargo of rum and molasses from Newport within five weeks. His correspondent wrote that the quantity could not be had in three months. "There are so many vessels lading for Guinea, we cant get one hogshead of rum for the cash. We have been lately to New London and all along the seaport towns, in order to purchase the molasses,

Immense demand for rum.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 380.

but cant get one hogshead."[1] The Guinea voyagers were known as "rum-vessels." There was no article of merchandise comparable to rum on the African coast. Our forefathers are not to be charged with any especial preference for this civilising instrument over all the other resources of two continents. Their instincts were neither moral nor immoral; they were simply economic. They had tried dry goods, and Africa rejected them in favor of the wet. Captain George Scott writes pathetically in 1740, from the Coast, of his trials in exchanging dry goods for black chattels. Out of 129 slaves purchased he had lost 29, and then had "five that swell'd, and how it will be with them I can't tell." He had one third of his dry goods left, and thought if he had stayed to dispose of it he would have lost all his slaves. "I have repented a hundred times ye bying of them dry goods. Had we laid out two thousand pound in rum, bread and flour, it would purchase more in value than all our dry goods." Could any hungry and thirsty savage ask for a keener and more sympathetic interpreter of his appetites?

Method of the voyagers.

One slaver took out in her cargo "80 hhds. 6 bbs. and 3 tierce of rum, containing 8,220 gals., 79 bars of iron [known as "African iron," the bars were used as a currency, as we shall see], "19 bbs. flour, 4 tierces rice, 2 bbs. snuff, 28 iron pots, 20 bbs. tar, 3 bbs. loaf sugar, 4 bbs. brown do., 7 quarter casks wine, 1 bb. coffee, 1 bb. vinegar, 20 firkins, 2 do. tallow, 10 bbs. pork, 15 half do., 10 boxes sperm candles, 4 kegs pickles, 2 bbs. fish, 1 bb. hams, 12 casks bread, 4 casks tobacco, 1 trunk of shirts and cotton hollands, 3,000 staves, hoops and boards, 470 ropes of onions, 4 bbs. beans," with water shackles, handcuffs, etc. The cargo was mixed, and it was probably intended for touching in the West Indies. The parts adapted for that market would be disposed of; then the rum, shackles, vinegar, etc., would be carried to the West

[1] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 316.

Coast of Africa. Vinegar was a sanitary necessity. In good weather the negroes were brought on deck daily, their quarters were cleaned and sprinkled with vinegar, and if docile they enjoyed the outward air the greater part of fine days. Males were separated from females in the hold by a bulkhead.

Insurance was sometimes effected on the venture, though there could not have been enough written to cover a large proportion of the risks. The premiums were too high, and the merchants, through joint ownership, distributed their risk over a large number of ventures and small values. The Newport vessels were taken generally by underwriters in New York. The rate was often 18 to 20 per cent. on Guinea voyages, one party underwriting about £100. Almost all insurances were underwritten by several parties joining in the contract.[1] Rates varied much in different years, as war brought privateers, or chance brought rovers. From Newport to Jamaica in 1748, the rate was 5 to 6 per cent.; in 1756 it advanced to 20 per cent., and in 1760 fell to 11 per cent.

After careful and elaborate preparation, manning the vessel, assorting her cargo, planning the voyage, and insuring the adventure, one would say all was ready for sailing. Not so! This world had done its part, but the other worlds — the stars — must be called upon for their conjunction, their propitiating influence in accomplishing a safe and profitable return. An astrologer or "conjurer" was employed to "cast a figure." This was an elaborate chart displaying cabalistic figures and courses known to the initiated. Mr. Mason gives an example,[2] and reports examination of hundreds of these horoscopes, many of which were annotated in the margin with the experience supposed to confirm the star lore, as "6 D & h always wins the profits," etc. When the hour

The horoscope.

[1] For form of policy see *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 318.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

assigned by the horoscope came, the vessel must start, be it day or night, calm or storm; the moorings were cast, and the voyage dated from that fatalistic hour. We may wonder that the Malbones, Vernons, Ayraults, Collinses, and others, accounted among the most cultured Americans of their day, affected or patronised such rubbish. But whatever their own esoteric conviction might have been, they could not overlook the superstitious and wonder-loving prejudices of their sailors. Cabin and forecastle both would pluck safety from danger the more certainly, when convinced that the stars in their courses were working in their favor.

These fleets and traders did not find a sure market or a certain supply of captives on the Gold Coast. In subsequent days, about a half century later, after a thorough system had been established, factories with magazines of the goods coveted by the interior tribes were kept supplied on the Coast; slave-pens were built, and the poor savages were herded ready for the buyers. In our period there was no such horrid order, in this disorder of the human race. Vessels crowded upon each other, and losses occurred often, through mere irregularity in the traffic. In 1736 Captain John Griffen found this state of affairs, and a very "trublesum" voyage. The French were out in great numbers, and there were 19 sail of all nations in the harbor at once. "Ships that used to carry pryme slaves off is now forsed to take any that comes: heare is 7 sails of us Rume men that we are ready to devour one another, for our Case is Desprit."[1] The rum men were the New England craft probably. Captain "Hamond" had been on the Coast six months, getting only 60 slaves on board. The sturdy man-trading skippers were quite pathetic in the story of their mishaps. Captain David Lindsay, an energetic member of the class, writes from "Anamaboe" in 1753:

Disorder on the Gold Coast.

[1] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 312.

"Ye Traid is so dull it is actuly a noof to make a man Creasey." His first mate was sick, with four of his men. Obliged to replace his worn-out cable and stock of oakum, he fears the blame of his owners, yet the "rusk" was too great. Five "rum ships" were at hand. His vessel was not too trustworthy, and they could see "day Lite al round her bow under deck. I never had so much Trouble in all my voiges."

Nevertheless the doughty mariner carried his rifted brigantine, the Sanderson, into Barbadoes, about four months later, with 56 negroes, "all in helth and fatt." Of these, 47 were sold[1] there, the remainder going to Rhode Island probably. Captain Scott, in 1740, was sorely tried also. He sent his second mate to leeward trading, but a slave escaped, carrying two ounces of the vessel's gold dust. Then the blacks from the shore captured the mate, and the captain, going to his rescue, was mulcted in £32 in goods for ransom. He estimated the whole loss through the "mate's folly" at £300. He bought slaves and goods from a Dutchman, intending to sell them to the French. But the unfortunate chattels were all taken "with the flucks," three dying, three more "very bad." He had 100 good slaves and no gold, waiting for 20 more. Provisions were very high, and water cost him ten shillings per day. Every man slave paid for in goods "cost £12 sterling prime."[2] The price of a prime man slave in 1762 was 110 gallons of rum. The instances given are types, and the voyages, outfits, and orders were quite similar one with another.

Healthy and fat.

Captain Lindsay's troubles did not deter him from other attempts. In 1754 he sailed in a new schooner, The Sierra Leone, of 40 tons, owned

"Privilege" of officers.

[1] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, pp. 339, 342. See for accounts in detail.

[2] Yet the Western World had advanced the value of "chattels" in 1720 over that prevailing in Eastern Africa. Ten shillings "English goods" would buy a negro at Madagascar. Johnson's *Pyrates*, ii. 86.

jointly by William Johnston & Co., of Newport, and parties in Boston, whose names are not given. He sailed for Africa direct, and the commissions and privileges given the officers are of interest. In addition to the regular wages, the captain received four parts out of 104 for "Coast Commission," five per cent. on sale of the cargo in the West Indies, and five per cent. on goods purchased for the return cargo. Moreover, the captain had a privilege of five slaves; the two mates had a privilege of two slaves for each. In these times the vessel did not carry a surgeon. When he was introduced at a later period, he was allowed a gratuity of £50, and the captain one of £100, if the profit amounted to 2 per cent.; they received half these amounts if the loss was no more than 3 per cent.

Lindsay showed his usual capacity, and made a successful voyage in about ten months, much to the gratification of the Boston copartners in The Sierra Leone. They write to their Newport associates, April 28, 1755, "Lindsay's arrival is very agreeable to us, and we wish we may never make a worse voyage. Are you determined to get a larger vessel for him?" May 26, 1756, they write concerning a snow of Mr. Quincey's, "She is about 112 tons, a fine vessel for y^e^ Guinea trade."[1] Her name was the Hanover, and they afterward purchased her. In the voyage of 1756, Lindsay took 133 slaves into Barbadoes, having lost 18. He carried some gold coin and bought gold dust on the Coast. Ivory was handled also in the traffic.

As the trade grew, Newport became more and more the central market. Connecticut reported, in 1762, "Some few vessels to coast Guinea."

Watering the rum.

Bristol, R. I., followed Newport in the latter half of the century. Captain Simeon Potter,[2] a famous privateersman, who ravaged the Spanish Main in the Spanish and French wars, appears as soon as 1764,

[1] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 341. [2] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 56.

investing his privateering profits in outfits for Africa. The invoice of "cargo and outfitts" of the ship King George, Captain William Earle, master, amounted to £80,112 0*s.* 4*d.* in poor currency. It was not dated, but it was for the voyage of 1764, or 1768 probably. Letters of instruction for both these voyages are extant. They show the same general course of trade as in the Newport ventures already cited. But Captain Potter was exceedingly naïve in his management. His craft in circumventing the poor Africans was quite equal to his force in overcoming the West Indians.

"Make y^r^ Cheaf Trade with The Blacks and Little or none with the white people if possible to be avoided. Worter y^r^ Rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short mesuer as you can."

Again, "Order them in the Bots to worter thear Rum, as the proof will Rise by the Rum Standing in y^e^ Son."[1]

The captains were men of force and business ability, as may be inferred from the foregoing facts. They often took small ventures for the friends of the owners, — outward in rum, inward in negroes. "Charming Polly" lent her romantic name to a Newport slaver in 1759. One of the schooner's bills of lading bears a hogshead of rum to buy a negro boy 13 or 14 years old, with the remainder in gold dust. Mistress Polly knew not that her name would go down to future generations soiled by contact with this inhuman traffic in the flesh and blood of our dark-skinned brothers and sisters. Such conceptions were far above and beyond the ethics of the early eighteenth century. A respectable "elder," who sent ventures to the Coast with uniform success, always returned thanks, on the Sunday after a slaver arrived in Newport, "that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen, to enjoy the blessing of a Gospel dispensation."[2] This

[1] *MS. Letters.*

[2] *Am. Hist. Rec.*, i. 312.

"elder" has gone the way of other bigoted gospellers. The passions of man are still lustful, and his temper is cruel in gratifying them; but his intellect has been trained into wholesome contempt for the ignorance of these unconscious Pharisees. Science has not solved the mysteries of the unseen, but she has taught modern generations a decent self-distrust, and some proper respect for all the religions of all the children of God.

Peter Faneuil.

The spirit of an early eighteenth century American merchant was bodied forth in Peter Faneuil, whose whole lineage is "held in peculiar honor"[1] in Boston. Peter was of Huguenot blood, born in La Rochelle, New York, at the very beginning of the century, and was transferred to Boston to become his uncle Andrew's executor and legatee. Trained in the best mercantile system, of moderate enterprise, yet careful, holding the largest estate of the time, here was a man without reproach. Solid, large-featured, self-considering, but liberal in his way, his eulogist Lovell, master of the Latin School, voiced the public sentiment at his death when he said, the bounty of Faneuil Hall, "however great, is but the firstfruits of his generosity, a pledge of what his heart, always devising liberal things, would have done." His private charity was equal to his public munificence, "so secret and unbounded that none but they who were the objects of it can compute the sums which he annually distributed."

In such savor of holiness, charity, and benignity lived this pocket-prince bachelor and husband of property, as he walked to church with his good sister, velvet-bound prayer-book in hand, his heart holding "many more blessings in store for us," his fellow-men, according to gushing Mr. Lovell. For his fellows, yes; not for humanity, as it came to be known a generation later, when King George's redcoats put a curb on proud Boston, and

[1] *Mem. H. Bos.*, ii. 259.

the people — Huguenot or English, native or African, black or white — mustered to put down tyranny, to assert independence.

Peter's commercial vigilance.

No matter how large the inheritance, how successful the ventures, how full the tide an inflated currency floated into good Peter's coffers, it must be made larger. Commerce must mix, trade must go. He drums up debtors with proper vigilance; submits reluctantly to the customary $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. exchange his friend and frequent correspondent, Gulian Verplanck, charges him in New York. His eye is open, scanning the commercial horizon, and seeing that men everywhere "act the Honest and Just part by me." [1]

Greed and thrift are near allied. The poor captains Lindsay and Scott, tugging painfully over on the Gold Coast, the small merchants handling rum down at Newport, had no keener eye for profit and increase than this sumptuous, merchant, — bewigged, beruffled, and bebuttoned, — as he strutted modestly down the broad terraces of the stately mansion near King's Chapel, to seat himself in the "chariot" with arms and harness, "in the handsomest manner." We get an occasional glimpse in the one letter book [2] preserved, of items which look shady and sooty. March 24, 1739, he hopes Verplanck has "an acco^{t} of the Negros being sold;" April 15, 1740, he expects a remittance of gold dust from "Coast of [an unreadable name]." These may be coincidences; all the traders dealt more or less in gold, ivory, and "black ivory."

Faneuil's slaving voyage.

But can we believe the curious, prying eyes of modern research, as it uncovers an actual venture after negroes, a voyage deliberately planned by Peter Faneuil, owned one half by himself, one quarter by his neighbor John Jones, and one quarter by the cap-

[1] *Letter Book*, 1737, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Soc.

[2] In cabinet N. E. Hist. and Gen. Soc.

tain, John Cutler? The name of the craft, too, — did Peter slap his fair round belly and chuckle when he named the snow Jolly Bachelor? This must be merely the sad irony of fate, that the craft deliberately destined to be packed with human pains and to echo with human groans should in its very name bear the fantastic image of the luxury-loving chief owner. If these be the sources of profits and property, where is the liberty of Faneuil Hall, where the charity of good Peter's alms?

Neither Faneuil the owner, nor Cutler the master, lived to see the return of the snow with the ghastly funny name. The safe and prosperous merchant went out from the Tri-mountain City in all the pomp of funereal circumstance, as will appear. Poor Cutler, with two of his sailors, was "barbarously murdered" on the Coast of Guinea, near the Banana Islands, by the natives whom he was persuading and converting to "the blessing of a Gospel dispensation."

A vessel refitted on "the Coast."

This catastrophe was March 9, 1742. George Birchall, a resident of Banana Islands, Sierra Leone, then appeared on the scene and took possession of the abandoned vessel. The natives had stripped her, and carried off such slaves as were already on board. Birchall, with considerable skill apparently, bought back a part of her stores from the natives, together with 20 slaves, refitted the snow with sails and rigging from English slaving vessels, and appointed Charles Winkham master. Winkham shipped two mates, a boatswain, and two sailors, April 10, 1743, and two more sailors May 1st, at Sierra Leone, for New England, and brought his vessel into Newport about the sixteenth of August following, with 20 negroes on board. George Birchall libelled the vessel and cargo in a friendly suit for salvage before Hon. John Gridley, judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of the Colony of Rhode Island. Benjamin Faneuil, brother, administrator, and heir of the late Peter,

with John Jones, all of Boston, appeared to claim their rights, one half having been Peter's, one quarter Jones's, and one quarter Cutler's, the late master, for whom Benjamin was executor. Judge Gridley decreed the sale of vessel, cargo, and negroes by William King, deputy marshal, awarding one third of the proceeds to Birchall for salvage, and two thirds to Faneuil and Jones.

There were some nice points involved, for while reasonably enough there was no dispute about such well-won salvage, Gridley curiously rejected the "Portage bill"[1] of officers' and men's wages, £102 17*s.* 4*d.*, Legal points.

[1] This "portage" bill, the bill of costs, and the sworn statement of Benjamin Faneuil, administrator, are given at length. The documents of the case, unusually full for the time, are preserved in the Rhode Island archives at Providence: —

A Portage bill of mens Names and wages Due on board the Snow Jolly Bachelor, Charles Winkham, master, bound To Newengland, Commencing at Sirrilione 10th of April 1743.

Mens' Names	qualityes	wn Shipt	w 6 months Sterling	wn Discharg'd	wg Due
Charles Winkham	Master	April 10	£6 00	Augt 18 1743	£25 12
John Battey . .	Mate	do.	3 10	do. 17 —	14 16 4
Oliver Arnold . .	2d mate	do.	3 10	do. — —	12 14
Alexder McKinsey	Boatswain	do.	3	do. 16 —	12 12
Silvester Sweet .	Sailor	do.	2 10	do. 18 —	10 13 4
Oliver Somes . .	do.	do.	2 10	do. 16 —	10 10
Wm Umerey . .	do.	May ye 1st	2	do. 16 —	7 1 4
Wm. Wyat . .	do.	do.	2 10	do. 18 —	8 18 4
					£102 17 4

Newport, Augt 18th 1743. E : E : p. CHARLES WINKHAM.

Burchell & Co., of Snow Jolly Batchelor.

Cost of Court.

For Drawing the Libels & attorneys Tax	£0 18 8
For filing and allowing	12 8
To attachment Seal and service	10
To the marshalls Fee	2 6
To three Interligitary Decree & recos	2 11 6
To Taking Evidence In Court	6

from Sierra Leone to Newport. Leonard Lockman, in a subsequent decree, August 26, 1743, allows this bill, and orders Marshal King to pay it from the proceeds. We wonder how it could have been otherwise, but the judge must have had legal ground for the first decision.[1]

	£		
To a Copy of the Libel		2	6
To the marshall for keeping the Vessel in Custody 19 days	2	7	6
To the marshall for selling Snow & Twenty Negroes @ 2½ p. Cent	18	5	6
To the Regr for paying & Cecuring do. at 2½ p. Cent .	18	5	6
To the Door keeper &c.		4	6
To Drawing Bill of Cost, taxing &c.		5	
To Decree Definitive & recording	1	12	10
Pr. Gridley Judge.	£184	10	8

(Geo. Birchall *vs.* Jolly Bachelor.) And Benjamin Faneuil of Boston in New England, Esq, as he is Admr of all & singular the Goods, Debts, Rights & Credits of Peter Faneuil, late of sd Boston, Esq, deced, who in his life owned one half of the Snow aforsd, her Cargo &c, and as he the sd Benj. is also Executr of ye Late Will and Testament of the aforesaid John Cutler deced, who in his Life owned one other quarter part of sd Snow &c, and John Jones of Boston aforesaid, Merchr, who owneth the other quarter of sd Snow, &c, come into Court & say they have always been & still are ready to pay the proponent (on his delivering to the sd Benj. & John or their Bros. the Snow aforesaid, her Cargo &c.), a just & reasonable Reward for saving the sd Vessel, her Cargo &c, & sending her into this port, & of this, &c.

Tho. Ward

[1] Another case opens the question of wages. Before Captain Charles Winkham took command of the Jolly Bachelor, apparently he was adrift on the Guinea coast, his snow, the Eagle, having been taken from him Feb. 9, 174⅔, by a Spanish privateer. He had shipped in the Eagle from Newport for Guinea, Sept. 8, 1742 : Alexander MacKensie at £8 per month; William Wyat and Silvester Sweet each at £7 3*s*. The prices must have been in paper currency. The sailors claimed that enough of the Eagle's cargo was saved to pay their wages, and they "libel and appeal" against Winkham in Judge Gridley's court. The case was set down for the Saturday after Sept. 30, 1743. The result of the trial does not appear.

The snow was sold to Captain Winkham for £1,300; the 20 negroes sold for £1,644, ranging from £40 to £134 each. The men averaged nearly £84, the women nearly £79; but while the highest man brought £134 the next dropped to £100, while three women brought respectively £101, £105, £106. The mocking ironies in this whole transaction are not confined to the portly Faneuils. A list of honorable names —Vernon, Tweedy, Brinley, Robinson, Carr, Cranston — are represented in Marshal King's list of purchasers of the captives procured by Faneuil's gold and Cutler's blood. But there is one name preëminent in being borne by the descendant who became, three quarters of a century later, the greatest anti-slavery exponent, when New England waked to the final struggle. Then Boston did not come, but Newport went to Boston. The buyer of the highest-priced "£134 negro boy" was "Mr. Chaning;" was he a relative of William Ellery Channing?

Disposition of the slaves.

The armament provided by Birchall for the Jolly Bachelor deserves mention, for it shows what was indispensable for a slaver carrying forward our elder's gospel mission. Birchall and Captain Winkham did not buy unnecessary outfit in the far-away market of Sierra Leone. It included 4 "buckaneer" guns at 6 bars each, 2 small guns at 4 bars, 2 muskets at 4 bars, 4 guns at 5 bars, powder 7 bars, 1 small gun 8 bars, 2 pistols 8 bars, 6 cutlasses at 1 bar. Other articles in the new outfit were ship stores and provisions, the inevitable rum and "Manyoea." This was furnished several times, and as a boatload cost only 2 bars it must have been a native article of diet. The whole outfit at Sierra Leone cost 744½ bars.

We rub our eyes in amazement that any portion of exact and worthy Peter Faneuil's "effects" or accounts was estimated in bars. Gold dust, ingots, and plate were only various forms of specie, but bars did not appear on the ledgers of the early solid men of

Iron bars for currency.

Boston or Newport. The European and American missionaries — if they did not carry all the Spartan virtues to the forsaken dark continent — at least gave it the boon of the iron currency of the Lacedæmonians. To give the strong metal value in use and value in exchange, they forged it into bars, known in New England as "African iron."

A pound sterling at Sierra Leone, in 1743, was equal to 12 bars of this iron. A negro slave, when The Jolly Bachelor balanced accounts June 14th, was worth 60 bars, or £5. At about the same time, according to Mr. Mason's old Newport documents, he was worth £12 in "goods," *i. e.* rum, at Sierra Leone.[1] We see the frightful scale by which merchandise ascends through rate after rate, — paper-priced rum, Coast-valued iron, sterling gold, — while human flesh, sense, mind, and spirit descend in corresponding degradation.

A prostituted industry.

The Americans followed in the footsteps of a civilisation they inherited but did not create. The whole world in the eighteenth century, previous to the movement beginning in the American Revolution, which stirred the nations to their depths and shook thrones from their foundations, knew nothing of a refined humanity, knew but little even of the justice which should let men go free. We have seen molasses and alcohol, rum and slaves, gold and iron, in a perpetual and unwholesome round of commerce. All society was fouled in this lust; it was inflamed by the passion for wealth, it was callous to the wrongs of imported savage or displaced barbarian. The shallow sympathy expressed in the seventeenth century for Indians and native proprietors had expended itself. A new continent in possession, old Ethiopia must be ransacked that the holders might enjoy it more speedily. Cool, shrewd, sagacious merchants vied with punctilious, dogmatic priests in promoting this prostitution of industry.

[1] See above, page 463.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERIOD OF INFLATION.

1713–1745.

THE actual inflation of the irredeemable paper currency of New England began in 1712 to 1713. Silver had been long current at 8*s.* per oz., and this constituted the par of exchange.[1] In 1712 the value began to rise in all commercial transactions. The act of December 1, 1727, regulated the price of silver for debts previously contracted. It fixed the value at 8*s.* for 1710, 1711; at 8*s.* 6*d.* for 1712, 1713; at 9*s.* for 1714, 1715; at 10*s.* for 1716, 1717; at 11*s.* for 1718; at 12*s.* for 1719, 1720; at 13*s.* for 1721; at 14*s.* for 1722; at 15*s.* for 1723; at 17*s.* for 1724–27. This valuation in

Value of silver.

[1] *MS.*, Robert Hale Beverly, about 1720, Am. Ant. Soc.

Of the Exchange of Coins.

" transcribed or compiled by Robert Beverly."

In the *Exchange* of Coin, It is Necessary y^t^ y^e^ *Par* or Value of y^e^ Money in Each Place be Exactly known : for y^e^ Word *Par* Signifyes to Equalize y^e^ Money of *Exchange* from one Place, with y^t^ of another Place. As w^n^ I take up so much money per Exchange in one place, to pay y^e^ Just Value y^ere^of in anoth^r^ kind of mony in another Place, w^t^ out having respect to y^e^ price currant of *Exchange* for y^e^ Same, but only for w^t^ y^e^ mony doe currantly pass for in Each place ; From w^hce^ may be easily found out y^e^ profit & Loss of all Monies Drawn or Emitted by *Exchange.*

But y^e^ *Par* being Grounded principally upon y^e^ Currant value of Coin, y^e^ Plenty & Scarcity y^ere^ of, y^e^ rising & falling, Inhancem^t^ & Debasing of y^e^ Same. It must necessarily follow, y^t^ y^e^ value of Coin is subject unto Change. An example w^ere^of is France where y^e^ Coin has been Changed, Inhanced & Lowered for Several times in a few years.

the early years corresponds with actual transactions as recorded. February 25, $17\frac{13}{14}$, John Edwards, of Boston, bills a porringer to George Curwin, of Salem.[1] The silver is charged at 8*s.* per oz. "y^e^ advanced" at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., "y^e^ fashion" (the making) at 13*d.* per oz. In a bill for several articles — pepper-box, whistle, porringer, salver, spout cup with a cover — amounting to £16.19.11, from October 20, 1715, to July 28, 1716, the silver is charged at 8*s.*, the advance at 15 per cent.; "y^e^ fashion" varies with the articles, and the whistle is mounted with 6*s.* worth of coral. In Lieutenant James Lindsey's inventory,[2] 1715, silver is valued at 8*s.*, and 11 per cent. advance. In Hannah Clarke's effects, £57.10.9 rates at 9*s.* per oz. in 1717;[3] other inventories range from 8*s.* to 10*s.*

Silver in Rhode Island.

In Rhode Island the depreciation was more rapid, and silver was at 12*s.* per oz. in 1715.[4] She had made small emissions in 1710, 1711, for the current wants of her treasury. In 1715 she began more heroic measures, issuing her first "bank" of £40,000. These banks followed in rapid succession until the ninth was made in 1750. Then the colony was debarred further issue by the action of the British government. A bank was distinguished from an ordinary issue of bills of credit, or treasury notes, in that it was intended principally for a loan of the public credit to individual borrowers. The Rhode Island bills of the first banks were loaned to residents on mortgages at five per cent. interest for periods of ten years. The security was in real estate for double the value of the loan. The annual payment of interest was not required in the mortgages, but was provided for in separate bonds. These were not regularly collected, and a large part of the interest was lost.[5] Def-

[1] *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.
[2] *Suffolk P. R.*, xviii. 504.
[3] *Suffolk P. R.*, xix. 322.
[4] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 9.
[5] Potter and Rider, *R. I. Tracts*, No. 8, pp. 11, 16, 81.

inite amounts were assigned to each town in the colony. Connecticut was more moderate, and kept her paper from undue depreciation. In 1718 she was able to say that her bills of credit had been used since 1709, "the whole course of trade having been generally managed and regulated thereby;" and she made them a legal tender until 1727.[1] New Hampshire imitated the larger governments both in issuing and in suspending payment at maturity. She conferred with the other three colonies "about some method to advance the credit of the medium of exchange" in 1720.[2]

Depreciation begins.

The pending inflation had been a disturbing cause in Massachusetts since 1707, but it did not derange the currency immediately. The bills passed and did the work of a currency as long as there was a good prospect of their final redemption. In 1707 the collection of the taxes — which was the virtual redemption of the paper — was postponed for three years; in 1709 for four years; in 1710 for five years; in 1711 for six years. The volume of the bills grew larger with every emission, and their credit grew less as the Province repudiated its own debts. The motive for non-payment was not repudiation. The presence of France on the borders oppressed the New England consciousness, and constant efforts were being made to drive her off. Patriotism, however mistaken in its methods, impelled the New England men, and not a mere desire for the intoxication of inflation. There was no money; it must be had for another and another expedition. For nearly forty years the inflation continued. September 18, 1749,[3] the parliamentary remittance of 653,000 oz. silver and ten tons of copper arrived in Massachusetts Bay. England had sent the money on condition that the bills of credit be redeemed.

[1] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1718, p. 74; and see Trumbull, *Ct.*, ii. 47.

[2] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, ii. 733.

[3] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 124.

To enforce the circulation of the bills, the colonies enacted repeatedly that they should be a legal tender wherever contracts did not specify to the contrary. These measures were ineffective, and increased the financial confusion always incident to a defective currency. Debtors, always reluctant in paying, delayed more, to secure the advantage of buying legal tender bills at lower and still lower prices.

Legal tender.

In the Bay,[1] the commercial centre, there were three parties, each respectable in wealth and public consideration, but actuated by separate theories in finance: the first, bullionist, believing in no paper money and opposing all kinds; the second, in favor of private or associated land banks.[2] This party made such headway in the commercial community that the projectors were about to issue bills relying on their associated credit, when they were prohibited by the direct action of the Council of the Province. The third, wishing a large volume of currency, like the second, were enabled to persuade the bullionists that it would be better to keep the issues from private hands and within control of the government, and its policy prevailed in the final action of the Province.

Three theories.

Massachusetts issued a "bank" of £50,000, in 1714, of the same kind as that already described in Rhode Island. One fifth of the principal, with interest at five per cent., was made payable each year. But in fact the loans were extended, and in some cases were unpaid for more than thirty years. New Hampshire in one year made "banks" or loans at twenty-three years and at eleven years, at 5 per cent. and at 10 per cent. interest.[3]

[1] See *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, v. 170–176.

[2] See pamphlets: "*Projection for erecting a Bank of Credit in Boston, founded on Land Security;*

A Vindication from the aspersions of Paul Dudley in a Letter to John Burrill, etc.

[3] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 671, 688.

Our French neighbors in Canada had resorted to a rudely formed paper currency earlier than our forefathers did. In 1685 the Intendant Meules began to issue by the medium of common playing-cards. These were cut into four pieces and signed by proper officers. It was said to be redeemable, not in coin, but in bills of exchange. In 1714 the amount had risen to two million livres. About this time the circulation broke down, and it was partially redeemed.[1]

New York.

New York, always affected by the commercial movements of her Eastern neighbors, was forced to issue bills. In 1717 these circulated in Boston at 25 per cent. better rates than prevailed for those of Massachusetts. There were parties there, as elsewhere, favoring and opposing the use of paper money. Governor Hunter claimed that the effect was beneficial to the whole people, increasing the movement of trade by at least one half. "This circulation enables the many to trade, to some small loss to the few who had monopolized it."[2] The struggle over the issues extended to London. In the next year a sum of money was sent there from New York to enable Mr. Baker, a merchant, to oppose the New York "money bills" before the authorities at home.[3] In 1719 the Lords of Trade reported on the petition to the Lords Justices adversely. They state their reasons for believing that the bills had helped the trade of the Province, and would continue to be beneficial, if not over-issued.[4] This whole story is an interesting episode in the history of currency. The unit of issue was an ounce of silver, and not a pound or dollar. This was stated to be equal to 8*s.* in all the colonies. The act assigned one half the issue, dividing it among specified creditors. This[5] in it-

[1] Parkman, *Old Rég.*, p. 300. [2] *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, v. pp. 494, 500.
[3] *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, v. 514. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 524.
[5] But the said Merchants complaining that out of the 41,517½ ounces of Plate raised by bills of Credit on this Act, 22,749 Oz^s are

self is one of the curiosities of legislation, yet it did not prejudice the authorities at Whitehall against the issues. New York had at this time the advantage, accruing from a brisk circulating medium, in better credit than neighboring currencies. In 1718 Governor Hunter claimed that the bills were equal to silver "over the greatest part of the English continent," [1] and 30 per cent. better than the local bills on "'change" in Boston. In 1721, according to Governor Burnet,[2] the credit of the bills was about as good; silver was but sixpence per ounce premium, which was but little more than the levelling of the exchange, as was claimed.[3]

Troubles of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile Massachusetts, having taken deeper draughts of a seductive and intoxicating kind, was feeling the pressure of her financial debauch. English crown and province government had failed in all efforts to stop the flow of new bills, or to reduce the

divided among the legislators and their friends, it will be necessary to enter into a particular discussion of this objection.

Whereas therefore it appears by their account that the Act directs there shall be paid —

	Plate. ounces.	dwt.
To the Governor	2,525	
To the Council	2,750	
To the Assembly	6,009	16
For Negroes Executed for Rebellion.	950	
To several for Services done to the Colony	2,662	17
For Paym^{t} of Sev^{l} debts formerly provided for	1,404	17
For Building and Repairs	550	
For making lines & for the Agent of y^{e} Colony	3,750	
To the Commissions who adjusted the Debts & for charges relating to y^{e} Act & Bills of Credit	2,147	
	22,749	10

Doc. Col. N. Y., v. 524.

[1] *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, v. 514.

[2] On the contrary, Mr. Thos. Amory, of Boston, in his MS. letters, 1720, quotes New York bills at 10*s.*; Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at 12*s.* 9*d.* in silver.

[3] *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 700.

old ones by redemption. All expedients failed to check their declining credit. In the issue of 1720 the five per cent. advance — added in every previous issue, and intended to maintain the par — was dropped, for it had no effect. At the same time the weary financiers returned to the ways of the seventeenth century, and made a partial currency of produce which lasted until 1723. Through the scarcity of bills it was so difficult to convert produce or property of any kind into bills and thus pay the rates, that produce was made legal tender for rates, at prices to be fixed by the General Assembly. The treasury accepted beef, pork, or mackerel in barrel, butter in firkin, cheese, wheat, peas, barley, rye, Indian corn, oats, flax, hemp, bees'-wax, hides, tanned leather, dry fish, oil, whalebone, bayberry wax, or tallow. The list shows considerable extension of products and some omissions. The early lumber disappears naturally, but we should expect wool to be included. The next year, the governor having opposed issues under pressure from England, the House memorialised him for more. They said that he had consulted the principal merchants and gentlemen of Boston, seeking some measure for a better "medium of trade," but nothing came of it, and they would have at least £100,000 more to pay public debts, and to float trade. They admitted that further depreciation would be bad. They were sure this would be prevented by the act just passed, forbidding the sale of silver or bullion at higher prices than those fixed by Parliament. Had this act been passed in the beginning, "in our judgment," the bills "had to this day" been equal to silver money. Such sublime confidence have legislators in their fiat! Governor Shute gave way for one half, and consented to the emission of £50,000. It was secured by taxes on polls and estates, real and personal, one tenth [1] to be re-

Legislative expedients.

[1] For a specimen of the bonds given by borrowers see *R. I. Tracts*, viii. 19.

deemed in each year, commencing in 1726. It was distributed to the towns on a basis of taxation, each choosing its own trustees for letting it out. Worcester put its share into "ye finishing of ye meeting house."[1] In 1724, after a great debate, £30,000 was issued.[2] In 1725 European goods, not perishable in their nature, brought 250 per cent. advance on the first cost.[3] In the next year provisions had advanced about one third from the old prices in specie.

The few contemporary accounts existing are very pathetic concerning the effect produced by this shifting medium of exchange on the common business of the people.

Bad fluctuations.

Trade was afloat without moorings, and steered by a compass which fluctuated with every issue of bills, and even with every vote or debate affecting those issues. Thomas Amory, the founder of a long line of Boston merchants, writes to his correspondent, William Jones, of Bristol, Eng., May 24, 1727: "We shall soon see if the Loan Money will be continued. The Lower House is for it. The Shopkeepers have generally no money. I have sent to them twice a week. . . . We are all in hopes trade will be better when the Assembly breaks up. Should your debts come in, I Shall ship you Logwood or whatever else will best turn to account. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson and Mr. Samuel Royal have shut up their shops and desire time for the payment of their debts. As yet their affairs are not settled, but by all reports they have enough to pay everybody. It was said others had a mind to shut up, if the merchants continued to be so hard upon them."[3]

In October he informs the same Bristol merchant: "It

[1] *Worcester Rec.*, ii. 25.

[2] 5 *M. H. C.*, viii. 345. For details of bills outstanding, see Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 80.

[3] *Amory MS. Letters*, pp. 192 *et seq.*, in possession of Thomas C. Amory.

is likely your goods will fall by reason of the great scarcity of money. The like was never known, and the shopkeepers by their bad pay will occasion the factors a bad name. For my own part I shall arrest those who owe me for the next court, if not for this — as I cannot avoid it."

In November the merchants are still awaiting the action of "Our Assembly," trusting that they will "make money or contrive some way for the better encouragement of trade." Debtors could not or would not pay, and creditors hesitated whether to await better payments in the expected increase of currency, or to pursue them in the courts at once. But in January the situation is no clearer. Buyers and sellers, creditors and debtors waited, almost concluding that there would be no more money. "The lower House endeavoured to have £60,000 issued, but the upper House would not concur, which occasions a great deal of uneasiness."

The "Banks" in Rhode Island.

Rhode Island was now — in 1728 — in the throes of its "Third Bank," issued for the redemption of its First Bank of £40,000. The preamble reflects on a large scale the condition of affairs shown in Mr. Amory's letters. Massachusetts absorbed a large portion of the Rhode Island bills, as long as their credit was fair. The puzzled legislative economists said: "not only Trade and Commerce, which are the Nerves and Power of Government, begins in a sensible manner to Decline, Stagnate and Decay, but the publick Affairs of the Colony, of the greatest Importance, and those things whereon depend our Peace and Safety, for want of a proper and sufficient medium of exchange."[1] They subordinated the social and economic motives for issuing paper to the political ones. This was to sugar the pill for the appetites of the English supervisors. The home government winked at issues to pay for fortifications and war-

[1] *R. I. Tracts*, viii. 23.

like expeditions against enemies of the crown, while it professed to forbid issues of paper money for a "medium," or for direct inflation.

Evidently the credit of the "First Bank" was partially paralysed, and needed the stimulus of a new issue to revive the circulation. The theory of the issues was that the bills should be loaned out, the interest met, and the principal repaid by those who received them on loan. Then they should be loaned again to other recipients. But the preamble argues that this would not be just. The government was in honor bound not to keep out "said Bank longer than necessity required, or to the Prejudice of said Currency." But the rights and duties of the debtors were treated very tenderly. They had been "very punctual and exact [this statement is controverted by well known facts] in the payment of the Interest thereof, for the carrying on those wise ends and purposes for which the same was emitted, and sundry of them by paying Interest, have been so exhausted in their Stock, that for the Government to exact the Payment in of said Bank in compleat Sums at one time, as the same was emitted, would inevitably tend to the Ruin and Destruction of many Families, good Subjects of the King."[1] The issue was made, followed by another in 1731, and by one of £100,000 in 1733. The Bay authorities tried in vain to keep the Rhode Island bills out of their markets. The credit of the bills at this time corresponded with that of Massachusetts. Afterwards it was relatively lower. Silver in Rhode Island was at 18*s.* per ounce in 1728; 22*s.* in 1731; 25*s.* in 1733.[2]

The inevitable course.

The drift of the colonial paper money was in one direction. The issue was easy, and debts to the treasury were easily contracted; collections were more difficult. New Hampshire called on the town of Kingston[3]

[1] *R. I. Tracts*, viii. 22.

[2] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 10, 11.

[3] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iv. 521.

for £500 loaned there. It divided the whole payment into three parts, and attempted to raise the rate of interest from 3 per cent. to 10 per cent. per annum. According to Governor Burnet, this little province was in great need of currency. A company of "private gentlemen"[1] attempted to make an issue of bills on their own account. Conservative Connecticut[2] was dragged into the current of inflation. In 1733 she issued £20,000, and fixed the rate of silver at 20*s.* per ounce.[3] The pressure for currency was so strong that legislatures must yield. When government would not furnish "a medium," private companies did it. The New London Society for Trade and Commerce circulated notes which were current until prohibited by the authorities.[4] When arraigned, they asserted that their notes were not bills of credit but of exchange. This society[5] numbered some eighty members, scattered over the whole colony. It obtained loans from the colonial treasury on mortgages. It built vessels and undertook various adventures; issued notes having twelve years to run. Its prosperity lasted about two years.

We traced the rise of silver, in inventories[6] of personal

[1] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iv. 685.

[2] See *N. Haven H. C.*, i. 50, 52, for account of depreciation.

[3] Trumbull, *Ct.*, ii. 48.

[4] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1733, p. 421; 1735, p. 15.

[5] Caulkins, *New London*, p. 243.

[6] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxv. 301. 1728. Example of a mixed currency: —

Mrs. Elizabeth Berry.	£	*s.*	*d.*
302 oz. of silver money and plate at 16 / per oz. . . .	241	12	00
51 shillings of English money	07	13	00
1 Lyon dollar		4	00
3 pistoles in gold, at 50 /	7	10	00
1 English guinea	3	03	00
1 piece of gold called a Carolis	3	00	00
In paper money	202	10	00

In 1737 (*Bos. News Let.*, July 14), William Brown found concealed 1,093 oz. silver, including about 6,000 virgin shillings of New England.

estates, to the year 1717, as it went up steadily from 8*s.*, the standard or practical par value. And we compared the rated values fixed by law.[1] In the inventories, prices went up steadily, and in general were slightly lower than those fixed by law for all transactions. As silver went higher, there was more relative fluctuation in values for the same year. I cite from the Suffolk Probate Records: In 1719–20, silver was at 10*s.* to 11*s.* per oz., gold at £8; 1721, silver 12*s.*; 1722, silver 12*s.* to 13*s.*, gold £9; 1726, silver 15*s.*, gold £11 10*s.*; 1727, silver 15*s.*; 1728, at 16*s.*; 1730, at 18*s.*; 1731, at 18*s.* to 18*s.* 6*d.*; 1733, at 20*s.*; 1734, at 22*s.* to 25*s.*; 1735, at 26*s.* to 28*s.*; 1736, at 27*s.* to 28*s.* 6*d.*; 1737, at 27*s.*; 1738, at 27*s.* to 29*s.*; 1739, at 28*s.* to 30*s.*; 1740, at 28*s.* to 30*s.*; 1744, Adam Winthrop's silver was valued at 32*s.* In 1745, the price was 33*s.* to 36*s.*, while gold was at £24. These prices of silver are an index of the disturbing force acting within this volume of irredeemable paper currency.

Changes in silver.

Effect on shipbuilding.

The greatest of our industries, the building of ships for export, was now being checked by the derangement of prices. Natural advantages were not changed; timber and constructive skill were here still. The laws of exchange had revealed at last the cramping and restrictive elements always inherent in the expansive forces of paper money. Peter Faneuil advised an English correspondent in 1736: "You will see by these Accst how dear build'g is: it is much cheaper to buy Vessells in the river of Thames than to have them built here for the Present." [2]

But the derangement of values, and the embarrassment of trade through fluctuations of its circulating medium, only tell half the story of the time. There was no lack of comprehension of the difficulties, and the unsoundness

[1] See above, p. 473.

[2] Peter Faneuil to William Limbery, March 22, 1736, *Letter Book* at N. E. H. and Gen. Soc.

of the situation. But no one could conceive of any sufficient remedy. Governor Belcher's messages in 1733 and 1734 are as sagacious as if written in the light of our modern experiences. He tells the legislators that the bills say "equal to money," yet "16*s.* worth will not purchase 5*s.* lawful money." The several loans of the Province, "after so many years' indulgence to the borrowers," must be paid without delay. The bills of the private bank, or merchants' notes, were expected to assist the currency of the Province bills; instead of that, they had hastened the general depreciation of paper.

This increasing flood of currency is the mysterious element, the fever germ, in the body economic and commercial. All collateral testimony indicates a debauched public sentiment. The essays written at Cambridge for the master's degree[1] are one index of opinions prevailing from year to year. In 1728 the thesis was, "Does the issue of paper money contribute to the public good?" which was maintained in the affirmative. In 1738, "Is the abundance of paper money received from the neighboring colony a serious hindrance to our commerce?" — affirmative likewise. As above said, the depreciation and the entanglement thereby but half reveals the trouble. Each inflation bred a new and a greater one; the larger the quantity, the lower the quality of paper, the greater and more intense was the demand for an increase of quantity. This demand came not from mere speculators and grasping traders; it included some of the best citizens. These private banks represented a widely spread need of the public. I have mentioned Connecticut. New Hampshire had one also, but Massachusetts was the centre of their activity. Several were formed there, — the most important and significant in 1740. It was called a "Land" or "Land and Manufactures Bank."[2]

Demand increases with the supply.

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1880, pp. 124, 125.

[2] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, pp. 102–105.

A land bank.

This institution turned first property, then the credit based on property, into a paper promise which should circulate and perform the functions of money. The capital was £150,000 in £100 shares. The whole cash payment was two shillings lawful money on each £100 subscribed. Each subscriber must make over an "Estate in Lands to the Satisfaction of the Directors," and then pay in three per cent. per annum "in any of the following Manufactures, being the produce of this Province, viz., Hemp, Flax, Cordage, Bar Iron, Cast Iron, Linnens, Sheep's Wools, Copper, Tanned Leather, Flax Seed, Bees'-Wax, Bayberry-Wax, Sail Cloth, or Canvas, Nails, Tallow, Lumber or Cord Wood, or Logwood, though from New Spain."

These products were to be received at the prices fixed by the directors, or the shareholder could pay his dues in the company's bills. "Artificers and Traders in this town of Boston in good Credit, who have not Real Estate to mortgage, but can give good personal Security to the Satisfaction of the Directors," were admitted to subscribe, each for one share only.

The "Bills" issued were promises by the company, first, to receive the said bill as lawful money, then in twenty years to repay the "value thereof, in Manufactures of this Province." Briefly, the institution was this: a private corporation received land chiefly for its capital stock; on this capital it received an income of three per cent. in produce or rough manufactures. For the list excludes cereals and the primary agricultural products, as well as fish and general merchandise. It issued bills of twenty shillings, more or less, to be circulated on the credit of this property pledged to the corporation. The issues were loaned on mortgages and ordinary securities, the loans and interest to be repaid in the company's bills or the aforesaid manufactures. A surplus equal to the capital was to be reserved, and the remaining profits di-

vided among the shareholders. No dividend is recorded, but the affair, as well as others of its kind, played a great part in the circulating currency. All these schemes tried to turn some kind of credit into money, without the modern factor of instant or possible redemption of the circulating medium in specie.

Low condition of finance.

Nothing more clearly reveals the debauched condition of the public credit and the redundant issues of provincial paper, than the fact of these schemes and the avidity of the people in seizing upon the money. In 1741 and 1742, parties advertised various merchandise to be sold for "Manufactory bills."[1] Governor Belcher and his Council not only forbade the organisation of the company, but used all their power to prevent the circulation of the bills. Samuel Adams, father of the great reformer, and other justices of high position and character, resigned their offices under pressure from the Executive. "All officers, civil and military, concerned in this combination," were dismissed. Colonels were urged by the governor, under his own hand, to dismiss any officers guilty of promoting the circulation of the company's bills. But whole troops, almost whole regiments, insisted on using the bills at all hazards. Henry Lee, of Worcester, writes, "I am determined to do what I can to encourage it (the Bank), and think the priviledge of an Englishman is my sufficient warrant." Some towns resolved that they would use such money in the payment of rates. Thus confused were the notions of political independence, financial stability, and solvent currency in the eighteenth century.

Robert Hale's experience.

Among the directors was the well-known Robert Hale, of Beverly, who was snubbed by the Council of the Province for daring to present the scheme to their notice. We get at his ideas of a currency

[1] *Boston News Letter*, Oct. 29, 1741; *Boston Evening Post*, June 14, 1742; *Ibid.*, June 21, 1742.

through a manuscript diary he made of a trip into Acadia in 1731. In the Bay of "Chiquecto" he met an Indian trader, Pierre Asneau, who came twenty miles across from St. John's with furs and seals for sale or barter. He "would give no more (or scarce so much) for our goods as they cost in Boston, so that all the advance our traders can make is upon their Goods."[1] Nevertheless, all the Province was obliged by the proclamation of Governor Phillips to take Massachusetts bills, unless contracts specified otherwise. Money was the worst commodity there. Traders would not take it, and Indians would not part with their furs for it. Consequently there was little trade among the inhabitants; each raised produce for himself. The landlord of the tavern, though one of the richest men, had only 5*d.* in money. Hale saw that the abounding promises of the state had fallen so low in credit that they would hardly perform the offices of money. Perhaps he believed that a bill based on actual property was more sound than a mere provincial promise to pay. The common circulation of these land and manufacture bills shows that the public shared this opinion, though it proved a delusion finally.

Old and New Tenor.

In describing the private currency or land bank movement, we have passed by an important change in the public emissions. This occurred in 1737 at Massachusetts, and in 1740 at Rhode Island; and it separates the two kinds into "Old and New Tenor."[2] All issues had been made in bills for twenty shillings — more or less — "in value equal to money." Henceforth they were made in value equal to a specified weight of silver or gold. The new bills were promises to pay definite sums of specie. Some of the Rhode Island issues promised the definite sum, or in addition "such a sum in any medium of exchange as shall be passing in the Gov-

[1] *MS. Diary*, R. Hale, Am. Ant. Soc.

[2] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 92; *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, Rider, viii. 53.

ernment as will be equal to so much Silver or Gold." [1] The Massachusetts issues of 1737 were at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce in silver, or £4 18*s.* per ounce in gold; the Rhode Island issues of 1740 were at 6*s.* 9*d.* per ounce in silver, or £5 per ounce in gold. The Massachusetts were receivable for all taxes, except import, tonnage, and light-house dues; these latter were payable in specie, intended for the redemption of the bills. The Rhode Island were receivable for all dues to the colony. The Massachusetts government attempted to fix the value of the new tenor at one for three of the old, but the current rate became one for four.[2] The same proportion prevailed in Rhode Island.[3]

The latter colony found great difficulty in collecting the loans, as they became due, by which the currency had been issued at various times. In 1741 there were more than five hundred suits at law in Providence County based on the mortagages and bonds of the borrowers.

At this period, 1741, we see in a merchant's letter [4] a picture of the mixed and vacillating currencies. These all mingled in the Boston exchanges, each struggling with the other. There were first "public bills" — old tenor — of four Provinces at 29*s.* per ounce of silver; new tenor of Massachusetts at 6*s.* 8*d.*, but current at 9*s.* 8*d.*; Connecticut at 8*s.*; Rhode Island at 6*s.* 9*d.* Of private bills there was a parcel of £110,000 of "silver money scheme or merchants' notes," issued in 1733 in an endeavor to cut off the circulation of Rhode Island notes in Massachusetts. Being redeemed punctually in specie, these were a favorite tender at 33 per cent. better rates than Province bills. Another parcel of £120,000, issued by wealthy merchants in 1740, based on silver, to cut off

Conflicting currencies.

[1] *R. I. H. T.*, viii. 54.
[2] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 93.
[3] *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, viii. 56.
[4] Cited by Felt, p. 107; and see Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 293.

the circulation of Land Bank notes. The latter bills were payable in twenty years, and "then only in goods at an arbitrary price." There was considerable gold and silver coin, but not in circulation. It was eagerly taken by the merchants for remittance to England.[1]

The opposing parties.

We see here two parties, one representing capital, and desiring a circulating medium of money, or quickly convertible into money by the best means known at that time. The other party represented property and credit, seeking to convert this credit into a circulating medium which should move independently of money, especially of silver and gold, the best form of money. The "fiat" or credit money party has continued and probably will always continue its expedients for dispensing with silver and gold. A currency, to be convertible and elastic, demands in the last resort a basis of money which the whole world will accept. In certain seasons this valuable commodity, silver or gold, becomes scarce; just as water, abundant in the mountains, becomes a commodity of enormous value in the desert. Possessors of gold or silver will always sell their commodity dear when the supply is little and the demand is great. Probably ingenious speculators will always try to escape the final responsibility to pay gold and silver.

Political agitation.

The Land Bank[2] was a political as well as financial development. Parties divided, and legislators were elected or defeated, on this issue. The doggerel of the time shows, —

> "The Land Bank and the Silver Scheme
> Was all last winter's noisy theme,
> Till their debates, at length, were sent
> For issue to the Parliament."

A commission in 1741 reported that the Land Bank had issued £35,582 in notes. Their operations were stopped

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1860, p. 124.

[2] Hutchinson, *Diary*, p. 51.

in 1742 by positive act of Parliament. The concern dragged for years through all the stages of loss and disaster; the estates of surviving directors were finally assessed for losses incurred through the bank.

Massachusetts attempted to regulate her currency in 1742 by an "Equity Bill." Hutchinson had tried in vain to raise a loan of 220,000 oz. silver in England in 1740 for redeeming Province bills. This provided that all coined sterling silver should pass at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce troy. All future emissions of paper were to be equal to hard money. All debts contracted within five years were to be paid in this money, unless otherwise specially agreed. This was expected to solve the troubles of mixed currencies. But it only proved that governments can make money, but cannot make a currency. Gresham's law worked steadily on. The specie-bearing notes were hoarded and disappeared from circulation, while the citizens were forced to use the poorer paper of the adjoining governments.[1]

The especial interest of the currency — now in 1745 — merges in the larger interest of the whole people. The economic and the political motive joined with race antipathy in working toward the expulsion of the French from Acadia and Canada. New England put forth all its strength in the memorable expedition against Louisburgh. It was a colonial effort; the rich home government did little, the poor colonists did almost everything, in this bold assault and capture of the French stronghold. Exhausted Massachusetts could not float any more paper money, though a sea of patriotism buoyed up her vessels and drove her expeditions northward. She resorted to a lottery, the shares payable one fifth in new tenor, remainder in old tenor, four for one, to raise £7,500 in the dire need of the treasury. We

The French enemy.

[1] For a history of the currency, and for its literature, see *Nar. and Crit. America*, v. 170–177.

may leave the consideration of the currency, and turn backward into other avenues of social development.

New England industry creates.

Industry is the keynote of our history. The essential nature of the people put forth this form of outward activity, as surely as the Latins devoted themselves to conquest. It has been said, there are only two ways of raising one's self: the first, by one's own industry; the second, by the imbecility of others. The latter opportunity soon went out from the experience and from the story of New England. Norsemen in Europe preyed on enfeebled peoples. The Norse vein in our blood found little, beyond the land of the aborigines, on which it could be fed. The Scandinavian Teuton, in this later England, created his fortune by his own industry; an incessant building-in of all the forces and products of a very reluctant Nature into new returns of civilisation. It was this domestic activity, this laboring industry in house, farmstead, and village, which supplied the fishermen, and pushed out sailors into the ventures of foreign commerce. This industrial fever, productive irritant, manufacturing stimulant, throbbing through the remotest districts and beating along the shores, impelled the people to constant manipulation and the best rendering of all the goods within their reach. It was not any virtue in paper money which kept afloat these currencies we have been describing. It was the intense productive and exchanging energy of the people — an economic appetite which must feed, on gold if it could be had; failing that, on the husks of paper.

Agriculture.

This principle is reflected also in the conduct of the land. Agriculture proper changed its relations but little in consequence of the paper inflation. Prices of land underwent no change corresponding to the great disturbance and inflation of the currency. Prices of tracts distant from houses, or far from the village centres, were much lower than centrally situated

lots. In John Eliot's land at Hartford, in 1719,[1] the meadow was at £8 per acre; other lands and "the second meadow" were at £2.10. A tract on the "Copper Hills" was at 2*s.* per acre. In William Mitchell's, at Windsor, 1725,[1] a "right" in a large tract of remote land was valued at 3*s.* 4*d.* per acre. These values correspond generally with those in Hadley[2] in 1722, — viz., 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per acre for meadows. In 1728 and 1729 these lands had advanced to 7*s.* and 8*s.*; and lots in a large tract of 5,000 acres were at 4*s.* to 6*s.* Choice meadow or village lots were at 18*s.* per acre. The Hadley prices were all in silver, 6*s.* to the dollar. A farm of 130 acres in Attleboro', Mass., was offered at £100 in 1742.[3] Sixty acres, fenced and improved, yielded 20 loads "English hay." There was an orchard and a small tanyard. Among agricultural inventions we notice in 1728 one by a farmer at Springfield. It was a plough for cutting hassocks in wet meadows. Drawn by four oxen, it would do as much as "Forty men shall do in the usual method with Hoes."[4]

The Province of Massachusetts laid an impost on manufacture in 1718.[5] The Lords of Trade report to the king that Massachusetts has always worked its wool[6] into coarse cloths, druggets and serges. But as this was a lame and impotent conclusion to the English administrative efforts for two generations in checking and suppressing these industries, they add that these goods, as well as their homespun linen, "generally half cotton," serve only "for the use of the meanest sort of people." The descendants of these mean people also wore homespun, but in 1776 the crown found them to be of uncommonly tough fibre. Homespun was not sold in

Woven fabrics.

[1] *Hartford Prob. Rec.* [2] Judd, p. 289.
[3] *Bos. News. Let.*, Sept. 30, 1742.
[4] *N. E. Weekly Journal*, June 3, 1728.
[5] Bancroft, ii. 238. [6] *Doc. N. York*, v. 597.

the shops.[1] The prices[2] of weaving[3] in the Old Colony show the several varieties of fabrics. They are rendered in "Old Tenor" at forty five shillings. In 1714 weaving cotton and linen was 6*d.* per yard. In 1715 kersey an ell wide paid 8*d.*, and plain linen the same; kersey 10*d.*, and worsted for shirts 9*d.* Evidently there were those especially skilled in weaving who either went to the farmers' looms, or took in work at their own. In Waterbury, Ct.,[4] where the primitive habits lingered, Joseph Lewis, "a respected and substantial man," was a cloth-weaver as early as 1706. Another, Thomas Clark, learned his trade of his uncle. In 1713 he wove plain cloth at 1*s.* 3*d.* per yard, checked shirting at 1*s.* 3*d.*, drugget at 12*d.*, striped flannel, etc. Probably he wove in winter and in bad weather. He dealt also in molasses, salt, tobacco, nails, etc., a barter to forward his vocation probably. He was a responsible citizen, and was a justice of the peace in 1736. Clothiers, who finished the woven woollen fabrics, were well established, as we have seen, in the former century. Clothiers' shears are advertised, with "good iron screws and boxes for clothiers," also "presses." In 1740 "Philadelphia press paper for clothiers" appears in Boston.[5]

Linen.

The manufacture of flax into linen goods received a great impulse from the immigration of about one hundred Irish families[6] from Londonderry. About 1719 they settled on the left bank of the Merrimac, a few miles below Manchester, N. H. They also introduced the culture and use of the potato. They established a manufactory according to the Irish methods, and made the standard fabrics for which Ireland was famous. They

[1] *Doc. N. York*, v.; *Lon. Doc.*, xx.

[2] The "looms & utensils" of Joshua Bates, in Boston, 1742, were valued at £10 17*s.* *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxvi. 318.

[3] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 77.

[4] Bronson, p. 144.

[5] *Bos. News. Let.*, 1722, Feb. 5; 1724, Dec. 3; 1740, March 29.

[6] Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 117.

spun[1] and wove by hand, but with more skill than had prevailed among our homespun artisans. This new industry partially replaced in that region the declining manufacture of woollens. As the commons had been fenced in, the number of sheep diminished. The production of domestic woollens increased in other districts, and fulling-mills were added in many towns as the settlements extended.[2] The governor of Massachusetts reported to the Board of Trade in 173½ that the country people then made only one third of their own wear in woollen. Two thirds was of British manufacture imported. Allowing for the official interest in diminishing the home manufacture, it would appear that the increase of a more generous living, which all evidence shows, was put into imported luxuries.

The Scotch Irish manufactures of linen in New Hampshire had stimulated similar attempts in Boston. The public mind was much excited. Women, rich and poor, appeared on the common with their wheels, spinning in holiday pastime. The craze soon died out, but meanwhile it created a brick building for special instruction in spinning. In 1737[3] a tax on carriages was assessed to support this industrial institution. It was abandoned after a few years. New Hampshire received hemp for taxes at one shilling per pound.[4]

Great efforts were now made to extend the manufacture of canvas or duck. It had been made in small quantities.[5] Massachusetts granted a monopoly in 1726[6] to a

[1] For an account of the Boston spinning school see above, p. 198. Jos. Clewly, a millwright at Malden, has a "twisting mill," to twist worsted, and makes thread. There is a "twine & line" spinner in Boston. *Bos. Eve. Post*, April 12, Oct. 13, 1735.

[2] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 602 ; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 253 ; Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 96.

[3] This date should be 1753. I am indebted for several corrections to Rev. W. R. Bagnall.

[4] Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 31.

[5] See above, p. 396.

[6] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 251.

petitioner, and a bounty for each piece 35 yards long, 30 inches wide, "of good even thread, well drove, of good bright color, being wrought wholly of good strong water-rotted hemp."

She also paid considerable bounties on the growing of hemp previous to 1720,[1] and by, especial act, in 1739, received it at 4*d.* per lb., with flax at 6*d.* per lb., for taxes.[2] Andrew Eliot, cordwainer, advertises silk grass in "Boston News Letter," March 14, 1720. Connecticut began to make linseed oil.[3] In 1723 Rhode Island loaned £3,000 in paper money to one Borden, on condition that he would manufacture 150 bolts of duck per year. In 1731 the 150 bolt condition was released, and in 1736 the loan was extended three years longer.[4] She paid bounties to the growers likewise.[5] Richard Rogers, of New London, Ct., had eight looms in 1724 weaving duck, having expended £140, and in the following year it amounted to £250. The Court gave him a monopoly of the manufacture for ten years.[6] These liberal encouragements produced no corresponding results. Prices inflated by paper currency forbade new manufactures competing with Europe.

Dyeing and finishing.

Contingent to the manufacture of flax we may notice the business of Samuel Hall at Boston in 1722.[7] He takes linen cloth to be made into buckram, or will sell the latter "ready made." He is proficient in "callendering any silk," and in "watering, dying or scouring." In an advertisement of 1726,[8] of a "silk dyer just come from London," more elaborate work is called for, as brocades, velvets, satins, mohairs, damask, needle-work, silks, worsted hose, with a great variety of other goods. In 1731 James Vincent and Joseph Herbert dye all sorts

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, 1720, March. 14. [2] *Mass. Arch.*, ci. 626.
[3] *Conn. Col. Rec.* 1717, p. 39. [4] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 401, 454, 526.
[5] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 84; and *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 474.
[6] Caulkins, *N. L.*, p. 409. [7] *Bos. News Let.*, July 2d.
[8] *Ibid.*, April 14, 1726.

of women's wearing apparel, with embroidery and needlework; glaze fine chintz and calicoes; "press, callender and new pack goods for merchants." [1]

We should look for fans amid the elegant belongings of those Boston dames whose refined luxury made such impression on Bennet. The fanmaker in Milk Street, in 1741, continues his fan-mounts, with painting, etc. When he cannot sell fans he is busy with "all sorts of English and Dutch Toys." [2]

Iron, the great staple of industry, was produced in fair proportion to the development of other manufactures. Much the greater part of the metal used was obtained from the bog ores of southeastern Massachusetts. There was no large increase in the period we are treating. About 1721,[3] the report to the home government mentioned the iron-works as erected "many years past." It ran that small quantities of the metal supplied the common use of the people, but in shipbuilding they preferred the better article from England. In the report of 173½, six furnaces and nineteen forges are set down for New England.

Iron.

The mining of the more refractory ores yielded small results, though attempts were constantly made as discoveries were announced in new districts. New Hampshire was excited considerably by these movements in 1719.[4] The export of iron ore was prohibited, and land was granted in Portsmouth for the projected works. Direct encouragement from royalty was asked for and denied.[5] Lieutenant Governor Wentworth and other prominent citizens engaged in the project. But by 1735[6] it was languishing for the lack of skilled workmen, who could not be retained at the work in competition with other industries.

A copper mine at Symsbury, Conn., was opened in

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, June 24, 1731.
[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, June 1, 1741.
[3] *Doc. N. York*, v. 598.
[4] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 759.
[5] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 754.
[6] Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 29.

1721.[1] A company had been formed to work it in 1707. An attempt at mining the same metal in Wallingford yielded but small results. Connecticut first proposed to establish a slitting-mill to draw iron into rods for nails and other purposes. She granted an exclusive right to Ebenezer Fitch and others at Stony Brook in 1716, and again at Suffield in 1722.[2] I do not find any evidence that the attempt was successful. But metal-working was gaining ground. There was a mill "for grinding scythes," operated by Henry Gray, at Andover, Mass., in 1715.[3] Nathaniel Ayres had developed good facilities for forging heavy iron-work at Boston by 1720. Sawmills, "crinks for sawmills," iron-work for gristmills, and all kinds of anchors under 600 pounds, indicate a business of importance for the period.[4]

We should expect that fishhooks would be included early in the range of the mechanic arts. And we find in the inventory of Adam Bath,[5] at Boston, in 1717, a variety, — 6,000 tomcod, 5,000 flounder, and 10,000 "small fishhooks not finished." He had an assortment of wire, both iron and steel; 2 bbls. of "fine card wire," and 3 lbs. of "card wire." This would indicate that he made cards as well as fishhooks.

America has ever kept the pioneer and the mechanic in close unison. While iron and silver smiths wielded Tubal Cain's hammer in Boston, the hardy settlers at Concord, N. H., in 1729, faced another problem. A gristmill had been started, with a crank shaft tugged over on horseback from Haverhill. Hardly at work, the shaft broke on a flaw. No blacksmith, the iron nurse of early communities, was there, but the settlers knew what they were about. A pile of pitchpine knots made an *impromptu* forge.[6] With beetle-rings and wedges they

Yankee ingenuity.

[1] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1717, p. 230.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1717, p. 312.
[3] Bailey, *Andover*, p. 575.
[4] *Bos. News Let.*, July 24, 1720.
[5] *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, xx. 8, 9.
[6] *N. H. H. C.*, i. 159.

bound the broken parts together and finally welded the shaft. The wound thus rudely healed never opened again, and the shaft did duty for many years.

Nail rods and nails.

The rolling and slitting-mill was an important industrial link when the human hand did most of the work now done by automatic machinery. The iron nail was an indispensable implement in every country; in colonial life, where buildings for shelter and contrivances for new industry were constantly being made, nails were always needed. The farmer bought rods, and in many hours when debarred from outdoor labor, often at the kitchen fireside, he hammered them into nails, — as important in his vocation as the claw tips of his own fingers were to the work of his own hands.

The mill took the bar iron, rolled it into a ribbon, and slit it into these rods. The first was established at Milton, Mass. Peter Oliver, the celebrated loyalist and chief justice,[1] established another at Middleboro', where he had lands and water power. It is said that he offered a reward to any one who should obtain the secrets of the slitting process, jealously guarded by the craft. One Hashai Thomas, of Middleboro', disguised himself, assumed simple-minded ways, and idled away his time around the mills at Milton. Too lowly in appearance to excite suspicion, he worked his way into the rude mill while the workmen were at dinner. Once in, his quick eye and natural mechanical gifts mastered the principles of the machinery. He constructed similar works at Middleboro', and Oliver's rods soon rivalled those from Milton in the market.

Casting furnaces.

Joseph Mallinson had a furnace at Duxbury as early as 1710. He appears at the General Court in 1739, and is granted 200 acres of wild land in consideration of his services to the public in prosecuting his

[1] I am informed by Mr. Weston, descended from a subsequent owner, that this mill was built between 1745 and 1747.

private business. These consisted, according to his petition,[1] in cutting off importations of £20,000 per annum in hollow ware. He cast kettles, pots, and other ware in "sand moulds." Jeremy Florio, an "ingenious Englishman," is reputed to have introduced the art of casting in sand instead of clay, which had been the conduit and vehicle of the fiery stream of metal. I remarked on the importance of the introduction of casting by Joseph Jenks in the earliest days of colonial manufactures. A century has passed, and it is interesting to note this change to sand moulds, — an important step in the development of cast-iron.

Guns were made in 1740, according to the statement of Richard Clark, of Boston, merchant; with "great expense and pains," he had brought the business to "some good issue."[2]

Mining in Connecticut valley.

Berkshire valley in Massachusetts contains rich beds of soft ores of superior quality, such as appears in Connecticut. At Salisbury[3] in the latter state, a bed was opened in 1740, and a furnace was established at Ancram. For sixty years an average of 2,000 tons of ore was taken out at Salisbury. About two and a half tons of ore made one ton of pig, and about four tons made one ton of bar iron. The production of the wrought iron depended on a supply of charcoal, as well as of labor. In Rhode Island James Greene began "iron works for refining" on the south branch of the Pawtuxet in 1741.[4]

Exports of iron.

New England exported[5] a little pig iron to England, beginning with 6 cwt. in 1734–35, rising to 94 tons in 1740, and ending with 2 tons in 1745; of bar iron, 4 cwt., 1 qr., 21 lbs. went over in 1740, a mere accident of trade. At the same time Pennsylvania was

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 314.
[2] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 170.
[3] Trumbull, *Conn.*, ii. 109.
[4] *R. I C. R.*, v. 17.
[5] Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 626.

sending moderate quantities ; Maryland and Virginia considerable quantities, or 2,000 to 3,000 tons in a year. The New England figures interest us, revealing what was and what was not. Iron was produced in quantities beyond domestic wants, for it was exported. So little went that it proves the manufacture languished for reasons we have seen. Paper inflation, without doubt, stimulated these manufacturing enterprises at first ; then that force soon expended itself. So long as the local demand equalled the supply, iron could be exchanged for other products, however poor the circulating medium. When the supply rose to an outflow, it was checked by cheaper production in other quarters. The middle states had a better currency than our colonies had.

Distilling.

The most important change in the manufactures of this period was in the introduction of distilleries for rum. Massachusetts and Connecticut undertook the business, but Rhode Island surpassed both in proportion. Newport was growing rapidly in wealth, and in the means for commercial enterprise. Massachusetts held the fisheries by preoccupation, and by the advantage of natural situation. Newport found an outlet for its increasing energies in the import of molasses and the manufacture of spirit. The consumption of beer — the favorite beverage of the seventeenth century — appears to have diminished. Lumbermen and fisher-folk demanded a strong stimulant to ameliorate their heavy diet of pork and Indian corn. And the trade in negroes from Africa absorbed quantities of rum. Rum from the West Indies had always been a large factor in the movement of trade. The eighteenth century brought in the manufacture of New England rum with far-reaching consequences, social as well as economical. It was found that the molasses could be transferred here and converted into alcoholic spirit more cheaply than in the lazy atmosphere of the West Indian seas.

The beginnings of this great manufacture attracted little attention from the inquisitive royal officials, always watching to report any productive enterprise. There had been distilleries[1] here and there on a very small scale. In 173½, in their oft-quoted report, the Board of Trade found "several still-houses and sugar[2] bakeries." This hardly represents the progress of the business. Connecticut[3] in May, 1727, prohibited distilling, as it made molasses dear, and the spirits were "usually unwholesome." But the prudent colonists could maintain this statute only six months, as it drove business to other colonies.

It is certain that a large business in distilling rum was transacted in New England, and that it culminated about 1735. In 1738, according to Burke, the quantity in Boston was as "surprising as the cheap rate at which they vend it, which is under two shillings a gallon.[4] On Price's plan there were eight distilleries.[5] Between 1735 and 1742, the quantity of molasses distilled in Boston fell off two thirds. The inflation and derangement of the currency deranged this industry, as well as the fisheries and shipbuilding. A still had been at work in Boston as early as 1714.[6] They extended into the country towns. One was built at Haverhill in 1738.[7]

Long Wharf in Newport was alive with molasses coming in and rum going out. The docks in Boston were busy also. Mr. Thomas Amory[8] built a "still-house" in 1722, bringing pine logs 28 ft. long, 18 in. diameter, from Portsmouth for his pumps. In 1726 he orders a copper still of 500 galls. capacity from Bristol, England. The

[1] *Suffolk P. R.*, xiv. 133.

[2] At these sugar-houses they made double and treble refined, with "powder" grades. *Bos. News Letter*, April 2, 1725.

[3] *Col. Rec.* 1727, pp. 111, 138.

[4] Rum was 3*s.* 6*d.* per gallon in 1722. *M. A.*, cxix. 274.

[5] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 447.

[6] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 447.

[7] Chase, p. 309.

[8] *MS. Letters.*

head was to be large in proportion, the gooseneck to be of fine pewter and two feet long, with a barrel in proper proportion to the whole still; the price in Boston to be 270 per cent. advance over Bristol. Unless the making could be done in Bristol for twopence sterling per pound, he would rather have the metals shipped to be made up in Boston. Mr. Amory also distilled turpentine and rosin. He drew pitch from North Carolina, sending back rum and other merchandise in exchange.

Connecticut[1] granted the exclusive right to make molasses from Indian corn to Edward Hinman, of Stratford, in 1717.

There are indications that the business of making lumber, sawing boards and shingles, so profitable in the seventeenth century, was now waning. In 1718 they found it better to export timber from Maine, rather than to saw it into boards.[2] They made a second attempt to manufacture tar in the Kennebec country. The best and most accessible trees in all the river valleys of our colonies had fallen under the pioneer's axe. A product less bulky in transport, more valuable in kind than lumber, must be had from the remote districts now invaded by settling families.

Decline of lumbering.

Potash, or the "fixed and vegetable salt of ashes," came from this onset of the pioneer's axe, and the purification of the settler's torch. The circulation of money, though it was poorer than the wood, and almost as perishable as the cinders themselves, brought ashes out of the farther districts.[3] It was claimed in 1717[4] that a laborer working one year could cut, clear, and burn the wood from four acres in any of the American colonies. This fire upon four acres would yield eight tons of potash. A gang of three men, cutting, burning, "boiling

Potash.

[1] *Col. Rec.* 1717, p. 25.

[2] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 302.

[3] *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, iv. 836.

[4] Force, *Tract*, i. 20, 21.

and managing the ashes" on twelve acres, would produce twenty-four tons of potash, "a commodity of universal consumption," worth from £40 to £60 per ton.

A paper-mill.

A new enterprise, small in pounds, shillings, and pence, but large in influence over the mind, — for it affected the spread of intelligence, — established the first paper-mill in our colonies. Daniel Henchman and others obtained some aid from the General Court, and began the manufacture of paper at Dorchester, Mass., in 1728.[1] According to the Board of Trade report, three years later, they produced £200 in value annually,

In the necessary article of leather we were able to furnish nearly enough for our home consumption.[2] Some things were produced which have dropped out of use.

Bayberry tallow.

We smile at the gathering of wax or tallow from bayberry bushes by the roadside and in the pastures. But Connecticut[3] legislated to prevent the stripping of the bushes before the tenth of September; it was alleged that "great quantities" were illegally collected before the authorised date. And I find the wax and candles in a Boston inventory.[4]

The manufacture of hats attracted much attention and censure from the mother country. The industry is started in the "principal towns" by 1721.[5] The company of hatters in London complain to the Board of Trade, 173½, that the supply had much increased, and that "great quantities" were exported from New England to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. This led to the act (5 George II., 1732) to restrain the number of apprentices in the colonies, and to prevent the export of hats.

Tobacco, which was grown in small quantities and imported from the Southern colonies, was manufactured in

[1] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 612; and Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 25.
[2] *Doc. N. York*, v. 597.
[3] *Col. Rec.* 1724, p. 461.
[4] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxiii. 38.
[5] *Doc. N. York*, v. 597.

Boston. Samuel Weekes,[1] in 1740, leaves a variety of apparatus, "tin tobacco moulds," "tobacco paper," and twine, an engine, and a press. A wire sieve probably served for separating the cut tobacco.

Wigs outlasted the anathemas of Judge Sewall, and the fashion supported at least one "peruke maker" in Boston. Samuel Dix[2] leaves nearly £40 worth of assorted hair in 1736, assorted in "tye," "necklock," "grizzled," and other varieties.

Boston had employed silversmiths always; by 1726 Newport had accumulated wealth sufficiently to put a good share of the incoming West Indian silver into domestic ware of all kinds. Samuel Vernon[3] and six others are named who for half a century prosecuted the manufacture. It added to the luxury of living, and funded the silver in convenient form when paper was of uncertain value. Silversmiths.

The great fundamental basis of all the productive activities, whether in manufactures at home or in fisheries and commerce abroad, the land,[4] — reservoir of

[1] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxv. 384. [2] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 525.

[3] *Newport H. Mag.*, ii. 187.

[4] The following letter shows us the operations of some of the leading men in Massachusetts in land. The mode of interesting English capitalists is given (*Sewall Papers*, Am. Ant. Soc.) : —

Major Sewall to J. Dummer.

Salem in N. Eng^d. *June* 3^d, 1717.

Sir I Congratulate you on y^e Safe Arrival of our good friend, M^r Jon^a Belcher, who is got Safe to us tho' our coast is much Infested with Pyrates whose arrival is Cause of rejouceing to y^e Province in Gen^ll. His Excellency our Govern^r his adm^n hitherto is wonderfull Acceptable y^e Gen^ll Court now Setting. I hope all things will run Smooth if you remember I gave you y^e trouble of Finding out M^r Allen to treat about a tract of Land that if any part Should fall within his pretensions what he would ask for a Release &c.

We have a Deed of Conveyance from y^e Native Indian proprietor thereof & pray you to Inform us whether you think it might be obtain'd from y^e Crowne a Confirmation thereof whereby persons that

patience and storehouse of industry, — changed but little as the tides of paper inflation swept over it.

Land.

Actual values change little; even nominal prices in paper fluctuate less than we should expect. In 1711 three acres of woodland are quoted at £15, "paper or silver."[1] In 1737 an inventory[2] in current paper prices gives 4 acres and 3 roods woodland at £25; also 6½ acres pasture at £32. These are lands well situated near villages in Massachusetts. In 1716 land near the bridge in Pawtucket,[3] then in Massachusetts, was valued at £3 per acre; "further off" it stood at £1. In 1719, 7½ acres on the "Hartford Meadow" was worth £8[4] per acre, while in 1737 "plow land" near Boston was inventoried at £9.[5] Farms at Worcester in 1739 are offered, by Irish settlers wishing to change their residence, at £300, £900, and £1,000. The sizes are not given, but they are called "good."[6]

Wheat had almost passed out of cultivation in the third

are able would freely disburse for y^e^ Settlem^t^ thereof which would be a benefitt to many & hurt or damage to None, & y^e^ more this wide, vast, woodey Country is Subdued and Settled y^e^ more British Manufacture will be used in. Sometime there will be an Incredible consumption of English commodities here in this Northern English America pray S^r^ Give me a Line on this head we would willingly part with Some few Guineas rather then fail to help forward therewith & take you in as a proprietor Equal with us if your phancy leads you thereto our Leiu^t^ Gov^r^ your Bro^e^ is chosen one of y^e^ Council. As opportunity presents I pray yo^r^ favour as to my Son Samuel Sewall for Some buisness; he is married and Setled in Boston if y^e^ Assiento Comp^a^ Should cause any branch of their Commerce to Extend to New Eng^d^ & if they would please to make tryal of him I hope they would find him Capable & Just.

Methods of land speculators.

Yo^r^ obed^t^ Ser^t^

STEPHEN SEWALL

[1] Barry, *Massachusetts*, ii. 89. [2] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxiii. 319.

[3] Goodrich, p. 32.

[4] *Hartford P. Rec.*, Inv'y John Eliott.

[5] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxiii. 319. [6] *Boston Gazette*, April 2, 1739.

generation of farmers. A little was sown on new upland clearings, as in the Connecticut valley,[1] but the supplies came generally from New York and the Southern States. Indian corn was the staple grain of our colonies. The production of cider increased in this period. It is said that one village of forty families made 3,000 bbls. in 1721, while a larger one made 10,000 bbls. This proportion is exceeded relatively by the actual record of Judge Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster, Mass., in 1728. He made 616 bbls. in that year.[2]

Wheat.

The old pioneer methods of grappling with the wilderness were dropping out. Waterbury, Conn., like other frontier towns, had been wont to burn the undergrowth in the woods to improve the common pasture. In 1713 it suspended this operation for seven years, that young trees might grow. Growing timber had ceased to be the greatest evil.

The Indian trade, in these days of their degeneracy, afforded but little satisfaction. Massachusetts in 1724[3] was obliged to forbid citizens selling strong drink to them, or bartering goods for the Indians' arms and clothing. Connecticut regulated the lending arms or ammunition to friendly Indians, who yet might be soon found fighting for the French.[4]

Indian trade.

New Hampshire had a project for pushing a truck-house as far north as the Pemigewasset River.[5]

The French excelled in tact and the facility for trading with the Indians; but the English goods were superior and cheaper. New York[6] made stringent laws for preventing the sale of Indian goods to Frenchmen; yet the trade went on. A certain amount of furs came through Albany, and New England reaped some advantage from them in her exchanges with that point.

[1] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 362.
[2] *Lancaster Records*, p. 332.
[3] *Mass. Arch.*, xxxi. 111.
[4] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1723, p. 381.
[5] *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, v. 95.
[6] *Doc. N. Y. Col.*, v. 577, 643, 687.

Carriages.

The general improvement in living and the increase of comforts I have indicated manifested itself in the gradual use of carriages. At the turn of the century, they were established as a luxury in Boston; a few years later they were spreading into the smaller towns. In 1712 Jonathan Wardell set up the first hackney-coach in Boston.[1] In 1713 Margaret Sewall, Stephen's daughter, at Salem, had a very difficult journey in a calash[2] from "beyond Lyn to Mistick," and "near Cambridge." They fed the horse with oats at Lewis's, a noted road tavern near Lynn, and drove by the "Blue Bell," another hostelry. They gathered "bearberries" by the wayside.

In 1717[3] Moses Prince, brother of the annalist, saw at Gloucester a carriage of two wheels for two horses; the drawing of it was said to resemble a modern cab. Captain Robinson, of "schooner fame," had built it for his wife. It marks a change in the ways of travel and the habits of general living that in 1728 John Lucas, of Boston, offers the use of a coach and three able horses to any part of the country passable for a coach, at the common price of hackney saddle-horses. This was for the animals; then he charged for the "coach & harnish as one horse," and for the driver 25*s.* per week. Within Boston he charged "8*s.* a time." On the Sabbath he carried to "Church or Meeting, for 8*s.* per Day, which is 2*s.* a time."[4] By 1732[5] carriages were so common that at the funeral of Lieutenant Governor Tailer a great number of the gentry attended in their own coaches, chaises, etc. In 1738 the Province tax on coaches, chairs, etc., was carefully collected.[6] In 1724 a sleigh is noticed in Boston.

The second quarter of the century established a much

[1] *Mem. Hist.*, ii. 452.
[2] *Sewall MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.
[3] Felt, *Salem*, i. 518.
[4] *New Eng. Weekly Jour.*, May 27, 1728.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 315.
[6] *Bos. Eve. Post*, July 10, 1738.

higher standard of comfortable living than the first generations of colonists could afford. The change was marked by improvement in the ways of travel as well as in other comforts. By 1740, when Bennett made his visit to Boston and wrote his account,[1] instead of the occasional coach of state, a lofty luxury, carriages of various kinds had become an ordinary comfort. Judge Sewall took a lady on the pillion to a lecture or other social gathering as "a treat." Now the ladies "take the air" in a chaise or chair, drawn by one horse and driven by a negro servant. The gentlemen ride out "as in England," some in chairs, others on horseback and with negro lackeys attending them. And more significant of their departure from colonial simplicity is the fact that they travelled on business in the same manner. In pleasure or business their habit was the same, and the sturdy men of affairs were taking on the manners of a gentry. The black laboring-man had become a body servant; for wherever there was wealth, luxury crept in. Newport followed Boston closely.

Comfort becomes luxury.

Boston's largest communication was still along the northeastern shore;[2] and great improvements were made in the roads and ferries of New Hampshire.[3] But the increasing intercourse southwestward, and on to New York, gradually improved the ways in that direction. The grandsons of the men who expelled Roger Williams were travelling and trading so much among his descendants that they were willing to establish better communication. In 1713[4] the two colonies built the first bridge at Pawtucket, and three years later a Massachusetts committee laid out a highway connecting with it. Rhode Island, always late in improving

Roads and travel.

[1] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1860, p. 124.

[2] For detail of this route in 1713, see *Essex Inst.*, xi. 24.

[3] *Prov. P. N. H.*, iii. 803; and *N. H. H. C.*, vii. 354.

[4] Goodrich, *Pawtucket*, pp. 32, 141.

its ways of travel, laid out highways by an act in 1725,[1] which was extended in 1741. By 1736 the great increase of travel required a line of stages between Newport and Boston. One Thorp received exclusive privileges for seven years.[2]

The precursors of the great modern "express" organisations began early in the century. Peter Belton, "late post-rider," started that sort of communication in 1721, once a week, from Boston, on Tuesdays, returning from Newport and Bristol on Saturdays. He carried "bundles of goods, merchandize, books, men, women and children, money, etc." He let horses with side saddles, etc., without charge for returning them. He kept a tavern or ordinary "at the sign of Rhode Island and Bristol Courier in Newbury St. Boston." The same business is advertised by Edward Brown in 1740, and by Jonathan Foster in 1745.[3]

By Long Island Sound shore.

Along the interior and remote highways, carts with two to six oxen[4] made their toilsome way. Tradition puts the first passage of "a team" from Connecticut to Providence in 1722.[5] This is probably true, for the General Court of Connecticut found it necessary in 1724 to license a tavern at the ferry house on the east side at New London, to be "well provided for the entertainment of men and with a good stable for horses."[6] The first bridge over the Pawcatuck between Connecticut and Rhode Island, at Shaw's Ford, now Westerly, was said to have been built by contribution in 1712. The second structure dated from 1735.[7] These changes indicate increasing travel over the least

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 364 ; v. 40. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 527.

[3] *Bos. News Let.*, April 17, 1721 ; *Bos. Eve. Post*, April 28, 1740 ; *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 8, 1745.

[4] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1860, p. 124.

[5] *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, vi. 19. [6] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1724, p. 480.

[7] Denison, *Westerly*, p. 138.

frequented part of the route between Boston and New York. Madam Knight had some of her most lively experiences along the south shore of Rhode Island about twenty years before. On the other end of the route, Ebenezer Hurd[1] in 1727 began to ride post from New York to Saybrook once in two weeks. This humble forerunner of the mails, telegraphs, and telephones of the New York and New Haven line rode his circuit for forty-eight years. In 1717 the colony had granted the privilege of a wagon from Hartford to New Haven for seven years.[2]

In the North, travel was extending and pushing out the pioneer routes. Privileges for ferries[3] were being granted almost constantly in New Hampshire from 1721 to 1743. Some time between 1730 and 1739 the Fore River was bridged at Stroudwater in Maine.[4]

Hard ways of travel.

The ways were not all smooth, nor did the New Englanders all ride in chairs with glossy-faced black lackeys in waiting. On the frontier lines, the struggle with nature still went on. We get occasional glimpses of lusty pioneers, the same in kind with those who made the seventeenth century New England; men and women, too, they made their mark. Captain Eastman was on horseback dragging a barrel of molasses over the then rough ways of Haverhill[5] by a car. This vehicle consisted of a pair of shafts fastened to the horse and resting on the ground; across these, and near the ends, the cask was lashed. Rising and jolting over a hilltop, the lashings of the barrel gave way; it rolled to the bottom, smashing its hoops and sweetening the poor earth as it went. "Oh dear!" exclaimed the perplexed pioneer, as he looked back upon the possibilities of cakes and

[1] *N. Haven Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1786.
[2] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1717, p. 37.
[3] *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, iii. 803; *Town Papers N. H.*, ix. 89.
[4] Willis, *Portland*, p. 441.
[5] Chase, p. 255.

pies, now wasted and lost. "My wife will comb my head — yes, and harrow it too."

Contrast with French Canada.

If any one thinks that I have marked too distinctly the economic features in the history of our organisation and settlement, let him consult the comparative statement of the Jesuit Charlevoix [1] at this time. He saw that the New France lacked just what the New England had: "there reigns an opulence by which the people seem not to know how to profit; while in New France poverty is hidden under an air of ease which appears entirely natural. The English colonist keeps as much and spends as little as possible; the French colonist enjoys what he has got, and often makes a display of what he has not got. The one labors for his heirs; the other leaves them to get on as they can, like himself."

No line of development in our institutions reveals this forecasting spirit and policy of our fathers more clearly than the community in our towns. The founding and organisation of a town exhibits a political prescience and sagacity admired by all the world. But it shows more. Into these structures of common life the New England freemen breathed a spirit of order, a regulation of custom, which conveyed and moulded all their living, — the outcome of their daily desire, domestic and religious, economic and political. This evolution of the community was indicated in the beginning.[2] The process in no wise changed after a century of growth. The elder towns, having conceived, labored for new communities; parturition was hard, birth slow and difficult. When accomplished, this outgrowth was not a mere helter-skelter irruption of families into the domain of nature; nor was it a race of individuals for the wealth and opportunity of a new district. A well-ordered community, strong in a common purpose, rich in inherited

Constant evolution of communities.

[1] Cited by Parkman, *Old Rég.*, p. 393.

[2] See above, p. 47.

thrift, sprang ready armed from the Olympian creator of bodies politic, and planted the germ of a state upon the rocky soil.

The delayed settlement of Brimfield, Mass.,[1] already referred to,[2] was organised by slow and painful steps in the period now under consideration. All the liberal privileges of the first grant having been exhausted, new concessions were obtained from the General Court. The halting course of this town reveals the difficulties sometimes encountered, and it marks by contrast the general success of the system.

An extension of time was obtained. In the first allotment only eight lots contained as much as 120 acres; out of 67 lots the majority ran from 50 to 80 acres. In some instances one son of an original grantee had a lot also. The settlement dragged, and in 1731, after much difficulty, the committee of the General Court awarded 69 lots of 120 acres each, increasing the original grants generally. A remainder was held in common. Then the first town meeting was held, and constables, surveyors of highways, "houg refes," fence-viewers, "Thying men," etc., were appointed. It was remarked in 1717 that the little hamlet had remained nearly seven years without a "teaching priest."

Common lands were generally administered for the direct benefit of the freemen and their descendants. This custom was not invariable, but it was the rule.[3]

About 1726 there was a marked movement in the older towns, like Boston and Salem, on the part of individuals, to buy wild lands in the new towns, and in the commons of the old. Prices in Hampshire were from one to three New England shillings per acre.[4]

In settling Penacook,[5] N. H., where the Contoocook

[1] *History*, pp. 241, 260, 265, 281.
[2] See above, p. 404.
[3] *Norwalk, Ct., Rec.*, p. 111.
[4] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 299.
[5] *N. H. H. C.*, i. 154, 155.

empties into the Merrimac, each settler paid the Province £5 for his right in 1725. If he failed of "fallowing, fencing, or clearing one acre" within a year, he was to forfeit £5 "to the community of settlers." When 100 were admitted settlers they were empowered to hold proprietary meetings. Three rights remaining were reserved, — one for the first settled minister, one for a parsonage, one for the "use of the school forever." At the first meeting, the proprietors resolved that no lot should be sold to any one without the "consent of the community first obtained, under pain of forfeiture." In 1730 they voted 50 acres of land to the blacksmith.[1] This making an institution of the most necessary trades was common. At Keene, N. H., in 1737,[2] 100 acres of "middling good land" and £25 was voted to any one who would found a sawmill," prices for sawing for proprietors to be fixed at 20*s.* per M., "slit work" at 3*s.* 10*d.* per M. In 1738 a set of blacksmith's tools was bought by the town. In 1737 the proprietors had allotted 100 acres of "upland" to each house lot. Ipswich[3] granted land for a house to Samuel Stacey, a clothier, that he might carry on his trade. And Cambridge voted in the negative in $172\frac{8}{9}$ on the proposition to grant £50 to Joseph Hanford "to fit him out in the practice of physic."

Organising a new town.

The growth of the proprietary meeting into the town meeting is interesting everywhere. The smaller communal body enlarged gradually into the more popular and political body, but not without halting, and even backward steps. The town of Colchester,[4] Conn., voted in 1714: "Whearas, we formerly granted our lands to perticqler persons by a towne voat," in future the power was vested wholly in "the proprietors of Colchester."

Proprietary and town meetings.

In 1740 New Hampshire empowered two congrega-

[1] *N. H. H. C.*, i. 161.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 76, 79.
[3] Felt, p. 96.
[4] *Records*, p. 13.

tions in Chester,[1] one "called Congregationalists, and one called Presbyterians," to meet and act separately in raising money, and in assessing taxes for support of the ministers respectively, and for building and repairing meeting-houses.

Ecclesiastical customs.

The ecclesiastical and political machinery of the time ran in close contact. Worcester, in 1724, holds a town meeting to see if in choosing a minister the "town will concur with the Church's choice."[2] The good Puritans generally preferred ecclesiastical to civil law. There were few lawyers. Connecticut limited the number to eleven for the whole colony in 1730, but repealed the restriction shortly.[3] A volume might be written to display the curious social life these records show in the New Hampshire towns. In 1723 Colonel James Davis and his wife Elizabeth being about to join the church at Durham, N. H., their former pastor presents a formal document[4] to enter his objection "by virtue of y^e^ communion of churches." He makes four counts against the husband, and three against the wife, all most edifying: "2^d^ crime is his Sacrilegious fraud in his being The ringleader of the point peoples first rase of my first years sallary, retaining 16 pounds thereof now almost sixteen years."

And again, "4^th^ his late wresting the Law of this Province in his partial Spite ag^st^ his own legal minister for so innocently playing at nine pins at a house no ways license for a Tavern . . . besides his the s^d^ Jas. Davis being so desperately & notoriously wise in his own conceit, his pretending to have so much religious discourse in his mouth, and yet live so long (40 years) in hatred unto contempt of & stand neuter from our crucified Saviour."

Among other faults of the lady he cites, "3^rd^ crime is

[1] *N. H. Town Pap.*, ix. 105.
[2] *Worcester Rec.*, ii. 27.
[3] Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 582.
[4] *N. H. Town Pap.*, ix. 236.

her being disorderly as a busy body at every one of her husbands Courts to be his advisor or intermedler in his passing judg^{mt} in any case, as if he sh^{d} regard her more than his oath, the Law or evidence."

The gentle shepherd proposes to prove his allegations, then to turn these children of light into minions of darkness by due process of ecclesiastical procedure: "As baptized children of the covenant by their prop^{r} minister, they are both of y^{m} laid under y^{e} censure of this pastoral rejection as unbaptized heathen man and woman, as Warranted by the law of Christ in Titus 3:10, I Tim^{o} 1:20, Titus 2:15, Math. 16:19, Mal. 2:7, Saml. 15:23, Math. 3:10, Acts 8:13:21:23, untill publick Confession & amendm^{t} of life."

These were rude and frontier districts, where the ministers' games of bowls made ecclesiastical politics, and where judges' wives interfered in the court docket. In the passion of the moment these childlike disputants seized any means of social contention; ecclesiastical and civil law were caricatured alike.

A curious parson.

The parish of Durham was fruitful ground for those curious ecclesiastical movements which reveal the springs of social life in the eighteenth century community. Fifteen years later Rev. Hugh Adams[1] brought a suit in court, and inveighs against the appellees, his "enemy," after the manner of the Jews in a more primitive period of civilisation. He had been an advocate of Governor Belcher, and the larger politics of the Province are mingled with these parish doings and personal disputes. The clerical plaintiff is confident in the justice of his cause; moreover, he has discovered that the "Patriarch Joseph (under the infallible Inspiration of the Holy Ghost) made it a law unto this day" that Pharaoh should receive the fifth part (Gen. xlvii. 26). The casuistic method of rehabilitating the modern Pharaoh is

[1] *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, v. 36, 37.

most ingenious, and only possible to an eighteenth century shepherd at loggerheads with his lambs. His "conscience" has labored in the deep conviction that when *any* "Kings Representatives in his Court of Equity" shall decide any case therein according to "good conscience," they shall be "distinctively remunerated." But as he is "justly" convinced that three of the Council will favor his opponents, he rules them out, and promises the whole fifth of the final award to the three others, who will be in his favor. He relied on the casting vote of the governor, probably, for he makes a bond for himself and heirs, duly witnessed, agreeing to pay the fifth part of the expected judgment to the favoring judges, as above stated. The governor was to communicate the matter of the bond to each of the three councillors, but it was to be "conceal'd prudently from every other living person." If either should decline the gratuity, and yet should concur "in the full judgment of my honest case," then the whole sum should go to the governor himself. This was intended in no wise "as a bribe, but a just tribute for Equitable judgment as required by the Supreme Judge (Romans xiii. 4, 6).

The best-laid plans will fall out, and the governor did not choose to wrap himself and Rev. Hugh Adams in prudent concealment. Far from it; he found his political account in "communicating narratively" the contents of the bond in quarters where it did the wily governor the most good and the artless shepherd the most harm. The selectmen of Durham caught the Scripturally instructed litigant on the hip and threw him out of the parish. In 1739, the year after the bond was executed, Adams[1] wrote to the governor complaining bitterly of his betrayal; and he stated that the bond became "my most scandalous crime for unsettling me." But he protests against its being construed as a

The governor outwits the parson.

[1] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, v. 39.

bribe, which he abhors in giver or receiver. "Besides if mistaken and misimprov'd as a bribe, I've supposed it my Duty, by my said Bond of security upon my Heirs and Executors, for an Antidote against any real Bribes intended or proffer'd by implacable enemies." What Jesuit casuist could exceed this distinction between a "mistaken antidote" and a "real bribe"?

If beaten in the Province and the town, that forum where ecclesiastical machinery, political manœuvre, and social quarrelling united in a hotbed of intrigue, the parson could wrap his gown about him and renew the fight on another ground. The citizen has failed, but the minister towers above a poor governor in New England, like an archangel hovering over a worm. He arraigns the earthly magistrate, who "so hurtfully trespassed against and despised me, and the most High God, as evident from Luke x. 16, xvii. 3, 4; II Cor. v. 20, therefore as though God Beseecheth you by me, I pray you in Christ's stead be reconciled to the God of Spirits." He begs the governor to repent, in order that the mighty Adams, by his "Master's commandment, may say I forgive you."

Their view of Providence.

Our forefathers were strong in affairs, and virtuous in ordinary living; they were well grounded in common sense, but the things beyond sense turned their heads. They made the spiritual life — that unseen world so immanent and always impending over them — into a travesty of this petty world. It will be observed that the casuistical Adams, so shifty with his texts, puts "inspiration" with a capital *I*, after the method of his time. Special providence — the actual and miraculous interference of the Deity in our common affairs — was quite as fertile a field for fancy as these egotistic Scriptural interpretations of Adams. Rev. George Curwen, a worthy member of a prominent Salem family, records gravely among other providences, "When but an Infant of a yr & half old, I fell into ye fire, & God

might have so ordered it yt yr by I might have been sent to have burnt Eternally in hell."

Close control of town affairs.

Church and state, town and parish, meeting for religious exercise and meeting for freemen's privilege, all worked together in embodying the common ideas of the people. An essential part of every community was in the control of its own affairs, — a control to be maintained by a homogeneous body of voters. The freemen clung closely to their right of keeping out outsiders. In 1714[1] Boston reiterates that no one shall entertain a stranger without notice to the town authorities, with a description giving the circumstances of such stranger, etc. No person settling could open a shop or exercise his trade without a certificate from the town clerk. In 1723[2] "great numbers have very lately been transported from Ireland to this Province," and Boston, fearing that they might become chargeable, requires that all be registered. Cambridge[3] in 1723, having suffered through the entertainment of "sundry persons and familes," provides that no freeholder shall admit a family "for the space of a month," without a grant previously obtained from the town. Sometimes this oversight was exercised by the selectmen and town officers, but often the town itself votes on these questions. Worcester[4] in 1745 votes that John be allowed to build a house and occupy a garden on the public land, "provided that what is now don dont opperate against ye Town, So as to Invalidate the warning him out of Town & his being Caried away, and that he be a Tenant at will." No inhabitant could receive cattle or horses to run on the common unless the animals belonged to a proprietor or freeholder. Warning out of town was common enough. The actual occurrences hardly need particular mention.[5]

[1] *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 104.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[3] Paige, p. 129.
[4] *Records*, ii. 57.
[5] Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 279; *Worcester Rec.*, ii. 38, 123.

Rhode Island was so liberal in her ecclesiastical polity as to worry and dismay the seventeenth century men of the Bay, making their descendants groan through many generations. Though heaven and hell were loosed, the strings of economic management and town thrift were held stiffly enough to gratify any Puritan. In 1737 the council clerk of Portsmouth gives certificate to the town council of North Kingstown, on account of Matthew Allen, "desirous to settle in your town with his family, if you will admit thereof, and whenever you order the contrary this town will receive them again."[1]

Our more complex system of civilisation has to struggle with masses and to deal with vice and crime in bulk. It has lost some of the excellent details of management which careful oversight of communal affairs developed in the early New England citizen. Salem[2] in 1725 had a loose woman in charge, and the town provided a spinning-wheel, a pair of cards, and some wool, that "she may be employed."

Indentured servants.

An interesting study in social history might be made from the scattered facts on record concerning the white male and female immigrants apprenticed or bound to service. This went on more or less from the beginning. Besides the influx of freemen and freewomen, gentle or yeoman, there was a number of banished convicts and a steady stream of laborers, forced to sell their service to pay the expense of this transfer to the better opportunities of the New World. Valuations of unexpired serving-time were common matter in inventories. Advertisements[3] for the sale for seven years or less were common.

Among the first arguments used against negro slavery was the proposition that blacks, coming in *to be bought*,

[1] *Narrag. H. Mag.*, iii. 90.

[2] Felt, *Annals*, ii. 400; *Boston T. Rec.*, pp. 171, 176.

[3] *Bos. News Let.*, April 15, 1714; April 25, 1715.

kept out whites who would come *owning themselves*. Therefore the true capital of the community was diminished by a bound slave, while it might be increased by a free servant coming in. These incoming people were serfs in no sense, though their liberty of person was abridged by the cruel lack of sufficient property to effect their change of abode and destiny. In many, probably most, instances they achieved a new destiny, enlarged and elevated; the stronger men became proprietors of land, the women married freemen and citizens.

These immigrants were not mere waifs and strays. In the few glimpses into their condition we get through the advertisements[1] of runaways, we see evidence of the training and skill of artisans, as well as the common attributes of serving-people. A house carpenter, a "taylor," and a "cloathier," mentioned especially, show the varied character of their occupations. The places of emigration were in great variety, and furnish another proof of the composite mingling of blood which went on constantly in the growth of the American nationality. Irish, North British, German, a "Jersey boy" and a "Jersey maid,"[2] were all melted in a fierce ethnical crucible, and were blended together by that strange assimilating power working constantly in American history.

Other countries compete for immigration.

This American absorbing process has not been free from rivalry and competition in any period. Other climes and other institutions have sought eagerly to divert to themselves the persons whom America has attracted without an effort. We have seen Cromwell's fruitless endeavors. In 1744 the governor of "Ratan Island, Honduras" advertised[3] in Boston for settlers, offering extraordinary privileges. He called espe-

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 24, 1713; Aug. 11, 1718; *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 17, 1735.

[2] *Ibid.*, and also *News Let.*, Sept. 7, 1713; April 25, 1715; Dec. 23, 1725.

[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Aug. 30, 1744.

cially for "joyners, carpenters, smiths, shoe-makers, periwig-makers, taylors or others." Each settler could have 50 acres of land for himself, 50 for his wife, 20 for each child, 15 for "every white person in Family," 10 for each slave. All settlers were freed from any debts contracted elsewhere. The island was reported very healthy, and well stocked with game.

In the midst of this abundance man alone was poor; not for lack of Nature's bounty, — the potato and banana, deer, wild hog, and green turtle, almost begged to be eaten. The balmy and mild air required only the slightest effort of the tailor in clothing these happy exiles. Eve's fig-leaves were abundant enough, but Adam had developed higher and even stronger wants. Above his head must tower that grand social superstructure, the wig. There were brains enough for thinking, not heads enough to produce the raw material in hair requisite for the adornment of eighteenth century gentlemen, even in Honduras. Periwig-makers would find land, but the British crown governor demanded gravely that they "bring Hair and other materials with them."

Administration of the commons.

Next to persons, the commons — land undivided and used for the good of all combined — occupied the attention of these district legislators and administrators. The characteristic business of herding flocks and managing droves of cattle upon the commons was carried on very much as it was nearly a century earlier. Even Boston did not give up the "town bull" until 1722.[1] The institution was thenceforth to be maintained at the expense of the owners of the cows. And the following year the price was fixed at 5*s.* 6*d.* for any person keeping a cow on the Neck, toward providing four bulls in summer and two in winter; in addition he was to pay 6*d.* per head for a certificate from the cow-keeper. It is curious to find a large community like Boston and a

[1] *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 171, 176.

sparsely settled province like New Hampshire both working over essentially the same problems of communal management. New Hampshire[1] bends itself to a better enforcement of its statute for fettering horses and horse-kind between March and the last of October; "which giveth a liberty of five months for those horses to trape over fences and tread and spoil our meadows." And in 1741 they equalised the rates for taxes in all the towns, according to a classified list.[2] A "township" on the Piscataqua River, having sixty houses and a sawmill actually built in 1738, offered fifty acres of land to any family joining them.[3] When any proprietor did not pay a tax assessed by his co-residents in a township, they advertised his "rights" at auction, as in Winchester, Mass., in 1741.[4] Colchester,[5] Conn., sold a black stone horse, three years old, because his height fell below the legal requirement. In this massing of droves, earmarks and other brands of ownership were very important. They were registered, often with a rude drawing to define the mark; as in Andover,[6] Mass., for James Frie, "a half cross cut out of the under side of the left ear, split or cut out about the middle of the Top of the ear, called by som a figger of seven."

In 1733, Windsor,[7] Conn., put the sheep of the town into three flocks, to be further divided if necessary. These flocks were assigned different pastures, and the whole matter of hiring a shepherd, folding, etc., was directed by a committee for "ordering the prudentials." As I have mentioned before, the commons were broken up and sold differently in the various towns; often portions had been misappropriated by individuals.[8]

Municipal routine and regulation did not classify and

[1] *Prov. Pap.*, iii. 805.
[2] See *N. Hamp. Prov. Pap.*, v. 165.
[3] *Bos. Gazette*, 1738.
[4] *Bos. News Let.*, May 14, 1741.
[5] *Records*, p. 10.
[6] Bailey, *Hist.*, Dec. 25, 1734.
[7] Stiles, p. 15.
[8] See Butler's *Groton*, p. 46.

establish itself without many halting steps. I have alluded to the disputes about markets and public sales in the previous generation.[1] Academical themes always interest, for they illustrate the questions agitating the popular mind in their day. In 1725 the candidates for master's degree at Harvard[2] proposed, "Can the price of articles for sale be regulated by law?" answering in the affirmative; and "Is it always lawful to give and take the market price?" answering in the negative. In both cases the young economists formulated opinions exactly opposite to those prevailing in a later time.

Regulation of markets.

Weights and measures, the regulators of domestic exchange, were overhauled thoroughly in 1730. New models of the Winchester standard[3] were obtained from his Majesty's exchequer, and the constables of every town, not already supplied, were directed to procure sets within three months.

The most prominent and significant memorial of eighteenth century economic history is in the now humble brick building, then "incomparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our western shore." I shall treat Peter Faneuil more at length in his relation to the foreign commerce of the period. Now we must consider the founder of Faneuil Hall,[4] given to Boston in 1740. The benefactor hardly lived to see the higher uses of his admirable creation, for the first town meeting in the hall was on the occasion of his funeral eulogy in 174$\frac{2}{3}$. The hall was for the community of Boston in concourse assembled; but the main purpose of the building was in a market for the petty intercourse of persons in daily buying and selling. The hall, rebuilt after a fire in 1761, came to be, in the life of the following generation, literally the "cradle of American liberty." Its most significant feature is in the fact that it was the gift of a private mer-

Faneuil Hall.

[1] See above, p. 406.

[2] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1880, 124, 137.

[3] *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 323.

[4] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 263, 463.

chant, prompted by the necessities of the economic life of the people. Political machinery in the germinating periods of the Revolution was necessarily more or less under control of the royal officers, and persons under crown influence, especially in crowded centres of population. On the other hand, economic life underlies and precedes political government and administration. Always, in political crises, where towns have existed, the burgher and the burgess have rallied to support the noble and statesman. In old "Faneuil," that guild temple of traders and aldermen, butchers and clerks, hucksters and civic magistrates, the spirit of the people conceived an embryonic nation.

Citizen and freeman.

It was not without much difference of opinion and agitation that this municipal concentration of marketing was achieved, and this convenient means was provided for developing the Boston freeman into the American citizen. Great results always swallow and assimilate many minor causes. Any student of our New England community perceives the constant interplay of two forces. One bound the citizen down with many ties, economic, religious, and political, creating his social responsibility; the other impelled the freeman outward, to the possession of himself in his own liberty; the fellow must be less than the man. The liberty of marketing — of buying or selling one's goose at pleasure, to profit or no profit, which Uring[1] noticed a generation earlier — was disputed ground, and was a matter of freeman's privilege. The market in Boston was opened and closed fitfully several times. The record of petitions and counter-petitions[2] attest the public interest, especially about 1730. Even after Faneuil's gift had been accepted, many wished the market closed. All this regulation of markets is an interesting phase of local history.[3] Parties for and against public markets were almost equally divided, when Fan-

[1] See above, p. 406.

[2] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 463.

[3] See Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 193.

euil offered to build one at his cost. A petition of some 343 leading citizens, including Hutchinson, Eliot, Gray, Chardon, and Scollay, asked for a town meeting to consider the proposition. But while 367 votes were in favor, 360 were cast against it. The founder did not falter, but enlarged his plans; the splendor of his munificence outshone and illumined the stolid opposition. Town offices, as well as the hall for 1,000 persons, were placed in the market building. This municipal palladium, together with the Old South, became the meeting-place of Boston freemen.

New Hampshire appointed market and fair days in May and October, at Hampton Falls, in 1734.

Municipal control of industry and trade.

We wonder that parties could divide on the question of markets in Boston when paternal government was freely undertaken in other directions. The purchase and sale of grain for supplying the citizens was a regular business of the selectmen for many years. Notes of operations[1] may be found in 1713, 1715, 1716, 1718, 1722, 1724, 1725–1728. At one time in 1716 the stock on hand was 5,000 bu., and in 1718 the fathers bought 10,000 lbs. of bread for public use. The weight of the penny loaf was regulated from time to time.[2] They varied the economic parts of municipal business by excursions into the domain of morals. They entertained complaints against Rivers Stanhope for keeping a dancing-school, and against Edward Enstone for a music-school.[3]

Individuals and persons as well as communities and governments had their rights of conscience. The scruples of a Seventh Day believer or a Sabbatarian came in to confound municipal regulation. Nathaniel Wardell advertised February 14, 1743, that he could not weigh hay

[1] *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 99, 121, 127, 133, 171, 185, 191, 197, 199, 210, 221, 239.

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 27, 1724.

[3] *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 236.

on that day, as was his office. His conscience affected his scales also: "both he and his Engine will rest from their Labour on that Day."[1] Some change was made, for a notice given the next week says that weighing on Saturday would be performed as usual. The town extended its communal grasp into industry as well as trade. In 1720[2] a committee recommended the procuring a house and the hiring a weaver, whose wife should instruct children in spinning flax. The children were to be furnished by the overseer of the poor, and the town was to pay their subsistence for three months. After that the master was to allow them their earnings. The town was to provide twenty spinning-wheels, and offered a premium of £5 for the first piece of linen spun and woven in the town, if worth 4*s.* per yard. The proposition was changed the next year into an offer of £300 to be loaned without interest to any one undertaking the school. At first "good security" for the loan was required, then "personal security" was declared sufficient. The modifications of the scheme from time to time show the constant interest of the people in it.

Municipal eccentricities.

Indeed, the towns varied their action according to the view of social management prevailing in the community of any district. The old Germanic and English governing customs continued, interlaced with new and sometimes eccentric actions prompted by the immediate democracy. Not often, but sometimes, the staid bodies of freemen escaped the routine of political development and gave themselves to the passion, even to the fancy, of the moment. Worcester[3] "perambulates the bounds" of its territory, and Hardwick[4] elects "2 tiding men, 2 fence viewers, 2 hog-reaves," in the old style; while in Cape Cod,[5] a widow having been burned

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Feb. 14, 21, 1743.
[2] *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 148, 153, 162.
[3] *Records*, ii. 16.
[4] Paige, p. 38.
[5] Freeman, p. 211.

out, the town votes her the materials of the old meeting-house toward rebuilding. They keep the pews for the owners, lest individual and communal rights should clash in this irregular charity. Dedham [1] and Hanover [2] kill wildcats; while Bristol [3] fines householders 5*s.* — one half for the poor, one half for complaint — for any chimney fire blazing from the top. Salem [4] forms a fire club in 1744. In the Rhode Island towns this democratic tendency shows itself most fully. In East Greenwich it had been the custom to build houses fourteen feet square, with posts nine feet high; in 1727 the town votes that houses shall be built eighteen feet square, with posts fifteen feet high, with chimneys of stone or brick as before.[5] In 1745 the town voted to expend £90 in tickets in the Providence lottery for building Weybosset Bridge; only £29.5 of prizes returned from this losing venture.

Seating the meeting-house.

If we would pass from the characteristics of the community to the essential and peculiar features of the individual men and women composing it, we shall find no better transition steps than in the curious methods for seating persons in the meeting-houses. If we had the whole record of the doings of the congregations in classifying and seating their members, it would picture forth the social condition of New England in our period. Aristophanes' comedies would not be more entertaining or instructive. Each man must be considered, and changing circumstances must be embodied in the social privilege of his seat. Then the women! Court chamberlains could not have adjusted all their subtile claims and conflicting rivalries. Committees duly appointed, from time to time, worked out these difficult problems as they best could.

[1] Worthington, *Dedham in* 1734.
[2] Barry, p. 35.
[3] Munro, p. 157.
[4] Felt, ii. 366.
[5] Greene, *East Greenwich*, pp. 16, 38.

Judge Sewall, in position, influence, and urbane demeanor, was thoroughly fitted for the task. But he dreads his responsibility for assigning the seats in 1713, and fears that his non-action will injure his son Joseph, the newly made pastor of the Old South.[1] Again, when he marries Mrs. Tilly in 1719, he would have sat with her in his own "pue." But that was too retiring a position for a judge's lady, and the "overseers" invite her to sit beside the magistrate in the "Foreseat." Worcester[2] grants Hon. Adam Winthrop the first pew to right of the door, fifteen others being assigned. "Foreseat," second seat, etc., were maintained for places of consolidated rank, as in Boston. Colchester,[3] Conn., has all the metropolitan sense of distinction, voting the pew next the pulpit "to be first in dignety, the next behind it to be 2[d] in dignety & the foremost of the long seats to be third in Dignety," etc. Richard Hazzen, in Haverhill,[4] Mass., is allowed to build a small pew, as he has "no place to sit but upon courtesy of Mr. Eastman or crowding into some foreseat too honorable for me."

Judge's lady in the "Foreseat."

The building changed in outward form very little during this period. The interior was developing constantly. The foreseat shone in the full refulgence of heaven, and lesser places were equal to the lower steps of the heavenly throne. New London[5] votes Mrs. Green, the deacon's wife, into the foreseat on "the woman's side," and Mercy Jiggels into the third seat. But here the communal authority girded itself for tasks even more minute, precarious, and delicate. The families of two brothers-in-law occupied a pew together: the upper seat being the post of honor, neither wife would yield precedence, and the quarrel waxed strong. Finally the town meeting ap-

[1] *M. H. C.*, vi. 379; vii. 234.
[2] *Records*, ii. 27.
[3] *Records*, p. 14.
[4] Chase, p. 253.
[5] Caulkins, p. 379.

pointed a committee to hear all the facts and assign the seats.

Evolution of society.

Do not imagine that this arranging of seats for the congregations was in any way peculiar to Boston, New London, or any other locality. It was a necessary evolution prevailing everywhere, and proceeding from principles I have defined. First the community fell into a democratic meeting on the long seats, then an aristocratic selection was gathered into pews. New districts generally went through a process similar to that already described, and occurring so frequently in the first-settled towns. In western Massachusetts, about 1717, pews came in slowly. Many persons disliked that the town should build pews for the principal families while "others sat in seats."[1] Votes for building a few pews were reconsidered generally before their actual accomplishment. We remark the community was now passing beyond mere sufferance of the aristocratic distinction. At first it allowed, after much discussion, private persons to build for themselves especial pews. Now the whole community reluctantly but certainly took unto itself the business of seating the families of its promiment members in a decorous manner.

The meeting-house itself was improved and elevated in its style, a change according with the general improvement in living we have noticed. The Old South, built in Boston in 1730, is a present example of the style of architecture prevailing. Dr. Porter[2] considers this the type of meeting-houses for the century following. It had two galleries, and the houses in the populous towns of Milford and Guilford in Connecticut had the same. That at Guilford mounted the first steeple in Connecticut in 1726.

Old Trinity Church, at Newport, R. I., was known from an early day as "the Church." Episcopalians have always cherished this preferential nomenclature with fond care.

[1] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 319.

[2] *New Englander*, xlii. 308.

The ordinary houses of the average people we are considering were little changed. In 1745 not a house in Kennebec (now Maine) had a square of glass in it.[1] The style of one and two storied dwellings remained like that of the previous half century, and paint began to be used about 1734.[2] But a more sumptuous and larger type dates from the beginning of the century. Sir William Phipps's "fair brick house" was noteworthy in 1692. Brick was well established after the fire of 1711. The buildings erected in Cornhill were of brick, and generally three-storied. What is now known as colonial architecture, gradually developed, dates some of its best examples from about 1720. Boston, the lesser towns, and especially Newport and Salem, built many fine three-storied mansions. Solid and portly, like their merchant owners, these houses — of brick in Boston, generally of wood elsewhere — took good hold of the present, and waited in quiet dignity for the coming generations. The nation was new and in embryo. These stately houses always seemed old. The Bromfield and Faneuil homesteads were examples in Boston.[3] The Champlin or Chesebrough house still standing in Newport[4] is a fine specimen of the ample luxury of these days. A wide hall from front to rear suggested the comfortable country dwellings of our English ancestors, and the staircase was as roomy as it was elegant. Wainscots mounted from floor to ceiling, while carving in relief adorned the mantels. Broad window-seats looked out upon well-ordered grounds, and four entrances opened their hospitable doors to a gay and social concourse of friends.

"Colonial" architecture.

Boston mansions.

The large houses in Boston, which were preserved for subsequent generations, had these features and surroundings, as is well known. Many dwellings went out in the changes occurring through the growth of the large towns,

[1] Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 650.
[2] Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 95.
[3] *Mem. Hist.*, ii. 521, 523.
[4] Mason's *Reminiscences.*

which had the same arrangements for living in ample comfort. R. Auchmuty's house in Essex Street, Boston, was offered for sale in 1738,[1] with gardens, coach-house, stable, wood, cow, hen and three coal-houses, with a back kitchen in an outhouse. We remark the large provision for coal. Grates were common, and the coals[2] of Scotland, Newcastle, and Nova Scotia were burned in them. The mansion was wainscoted from "garret to cellar," excepting one chamber, which was "well hung." The most of the chimney-pieces were in marble, with hearths of the same stone; all had "Glasses over them." In 1721[3] a brick dwelling-house in King Street, renting at £41 per annum, was appraised at £400. Another house, of wood, in the same street, with garden, yard, wood-house, and smith's shop, is priced at £1,000; a wharf, £300; a large wooden warehouse, £325; three other wooden do., £675; one brick do., £300. A lime-kiln was located near the Bowling-green in Boston, 1723.[4] An estate offered at £700 in 1732 brought an income of 8 per cent.[5]

Increase of luxury.

The large towns were more luxurious,[6] but comfort, moderate affluence, and ordered good living, appears to be the rule in all the older parts of our colonies. The dress of the people of the better sort did not change its general character in the half or three quarter century which saw the development of New England commerce, and the large increase of wealth among the

[1] *Bos. Gazette.*

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Sept. 23, 1724; *Ibid.*, March 23, 1732; *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1737; and *Bos. Evening Post*, July 26, 1736; also R. Hale's *MS. Diary*, Am. Ant. Soc.

[3] *Bos. Gazette*, April 24, 1721.

[4] *Bos. News Let.*, March 28, 1723.

[5] *New Eng. Weekly Jour.*, Dec. 4, 1732.

[6] Samuel Greenwood (*Suffolk P. R.*, xxxvi. 68, 69), in Boston, had eleven pictures, "Metzintinto," valued at £5. Rev. T. Harvard had six "Apostles" in frames, two being glazed, valued at 12*s.* *An. King's Chap.*, i. 428.

people. Materials were richer and more abundant, and wardrobes were more ample. The royal governors, coming shortly after commercial prosperity began, helped the onward course of luxury, but the main cause was in the more abundant resources of the people. The staff and attendant officials of the governors, the ladies coming from polished society, formed a miniature court in Boston, the influence of which went through all the settlements. But it was rather the more subtle and diffused influence of the mother country, working through intercourse and correspondence, which shaped and affected the customs of our land.

Gentlemen's dress.

Gentlemen wore the deep, broad-skirted frock-coat so long established. It was more or less ornamented with varied trimmings, running up to gold lace in the more splendid specimens. But the use of broadcloth was becoming more general, and embroideries or trimmings were not so necessary with this solid material. The long waistcoat, deep-pocketed, with loose, swinging flaps, hung over breeches or small-clothes, hose, buckled shoes, frills or cuffs, neck-bands and ruffled shirts, a felt hat,[1] generally three-cornered, completed the dress of the better sort of citizen. Almost every inventory toward 1745 contains a valuable suit or at least a coat of broadcloth, generally black, but sometimes in shades of fancy color. Adam Winthrop,[2] in 1744, had a black coat and waistcoat valued at £12; six ruffled shirts at the same figure, one holland and one dimity waistcoat, with an old gown, completed his wardrobe. One of the best-dressed men by the record, in 1741, was William Bennett:[3] a "suit of fine dark-colored broadcloth clothes," £35; a suit of gray Duroy, £20; a coat and breeches of "grey cloth," £12; blue cloth coat, £2 10*s.*; light-colored cloth coat, £5; dark frieze coat, £3; an "Allipeen

[1] Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 170.

[2] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxvii. 399.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxxv. 417.

speckled jacket & breeches, £9; red Whitney jacket & breeches, £1 10*s.*; white plain fustian jacket, £2; brown holland coat & jacket and 3 pair breeches, £2." In another instance, Captain Thomas Templer's [1] best suit was a "double Alpeen coat & breeches," £25. He had "Padusoy," figured velvet, "grogrum," and black cloth waistcoats; in addition to his coats, a "fustian" frock and a serge coat. But serge is not as common as it was at the close of the seventeenth century. They seemed to wear jackets in undress or half dress. The wealthy merchants wore rich dressing-gowns of flowered silk or other material. Generally there was a blue cloak or greatcoat in a good outfit. Captain Samuel Osgood, of Andover,[2] Mass., in 1743, had a suit of red, another of blue, a dark green coat and jacket, an "old white coat, with camlet and fustian jackets." The captain had one fine linen shirt and six of cotton, stockings both yarn and worsted. Plush was a common material for breeches. Both cotton and holland, *i. e.* linen, were used for sheets.[3] In a Hartford inventory of 1719 all the shirts were linen.[4] William Mitchell,[5] a "merchant" of Windsor, Ct., in 1725, had a blue coat, another of duffel, another of gray drugget, one do. blue, a suit of "beggars' velvet," and leather breeches with silver buttons. His wardrobe was ample and varied, but not as valuable as the better sort in Boston. Leather breeches kept in, well through the century; generally worn by servants and laborers, they appear also in well-furnished Boston [6] wardrobes. Most substantial men had walking-staffs, frequently with silver heads. Silver watches, rapiers, and pistols were common. Ensign Leffingwell, at Norwich, Ct., in 1724, had, perhaps, the largest estate there, valued at

Leather breeches survive.

[1] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxviii. 368.
[2] Bailey, p. 79.
[3] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxiv. 127.
[4] John Eliott, *Hartford P. R.*, May, 1719.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1725.
[6] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxiv. 327.

£9,793 9*s.*[1] He had elegant furniture, abundant stores of linen, with some plate, and wearing apparel worth £27. This did not include wigs, side-arms, etc., which were accounted for separately. This is an index and one of the signs of the increasing wealth scattered among the people, in the fact that the wardrobe is a very small fraction of the estate. It was not so in the century preceding. As we saw in 1670 and 1680,[2] the dress of a man of substance was an important item in his inventory.

The fabrics and stuffs for all this varied wearing apparel were being imported constantly from Europe, especially from England and the Mediterranean ports, where the fish and timber laden vessels made their exchanges. They were offered for sale [3] by traders, who received them from the Faneuils and other merchants. The stocks were generally mixed, containing all goods, from pork and hardware to ribbons and laces.

Runaway servants, white and black, are often advertised,[4] and their dress indicates the costume of the lower classes. Leather breeches are the most common item, and coats with frogs appear frequently. The garments are similar to those worn by the masters, but in poorer quality of material. The dress of a runaway "English man-servant" is a complete picture of the luxurious living prevalent in Boston in 1741:[5] "A blue straight-bodied coat with black velvet buttons and black button holes, a bluish silk camblet jacket, a fine white shirt with ruffles at bosom and wrists, cloth breeches,

Dress of servants.

[1] Caulkins, *Norwich*, pp. 191, 192. [2] See above, p. 290.

[3] See *Bos. News Letter*, Nov. 17, 1712; Dec. 8, 1726; Nov. 6, 1735; April 8, 1736; *Bos. Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1733; *Bos. News Letter*, Dec. 11, 1735.

[4] *Bos. News Letter*, May 17, 1714; Aug. 27, 1716; July 14, 1718; Aug. 25, 1718.

[5] *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1741.

worsted stockings, new calf-skin shoes with metal buckles, a blue shag greatcoat, a beaver hat and a linen cap."

Metal shoe-buckles for women were worn until about 1727, when they went out, together with the fashion of square-toed shoes;[1] the round or peaked toe of the seventeenth century came in again, "pointed to the heavens in imitation of the Laplanders."

Troubles from wigs.

Alas for the manes of Samuel Sewall, who fought wigs with every possible weapon, — scriptural, ethical, economical, and prudential! By 1740 they were in such common wear as hardly to be noticed. In 1721 they still vexed the Puritan mind, and a meeting at Hampton, after solemn consideration, decided "ye wearing of extravegent superflues wigges is altogether contrary to truth."[2] About the same time, in the quiet precincts of the Old Colony, the Rev. Joseph Metcalf, who carried a sensible pate under his artificial tresses, devised a better way to trim his top-gear, and at the same time employ the restless energies of the female critics of his congregation. They had complained of his new wig as "too worldly." He made each one trim off locks of hair until it suited them all.[3]

Ladies' dress.

The dress of the ladies was growing richer; it did not fully surpass the male bird until the next generation. A "fine brilliant diamond ring" was advertised in 1738.[4] Whitefield, on his visit to Boston in 1740, complained of the "jewels, patches and gay apparel commonly worn by the female sex." The finery of boys and girls and of infants, also, vexed the eager evangelist. Bennett says in the same year, "both the ladies and gentlemen dress and appear as gay in common as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday."[5] Madam Eliza-

[1] Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 90; Drake, *Roxbury*, p. 54.
[2] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 221. [3] Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 443.
[4] *Bos. Evening Post*, February 20, 1738.
[5] *Proc. M. H. S.*, p. 125.

beth Gedney, in 1738,[1] has fourteen shifts, £8.4; nine handkerchiefs and thirteen petticoats, £10.7. A "suit of dark-colored flowered silk" at £8, a striped lutestring gown at £7, a velvet hood, a lutestring do., two silk aprons, all at £1.4., make up the wardrobe of a comfortable matron. The hood was an important item for every lady. Mr. Thomas Amory in 1724 writes to England for a "good fine fashionable riding hood, or a cloak with a hood to it, embroidered."[2] Any color suitable for a young woman would be agreeable, except scarlet or yellow.

An umbrella was carried about 1740 by a dame of Windsor, Conn., whose husband brought her various elegances for her toilet from the West Indies. It excited so much attention and satire that her neighbors mocked her on the streets, carrying sieves balanced on broom-handles.[3]

The greatest innovation in the realm of feminine adornment was an immense hoop, which spread the lutestring skirts in ample volume, like a fishing-smack under full sail. In 1723 Pepperell, afterwards Sir William, married Mary Hirst, granddaughter of Judge Sewall,[4] lofty people on both sides. Among other presents he gave her a large hoop. The fashion was well established by 1727, for Mr. Amory condemned a lot of petticoats received from a consignor because they were too scanty for hoops. Such a breezy revolution in the volume of petticoats[5] did not come in without profound ethical disturbance and physical portents, according to the

Hoops come in.

[1] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxiv. 14.
[2] *Amory Correspondence, MS.*
[3] Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 482.
[4] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 26.
[5] 1722. Rev. Hugh Adams inveighed against wigs and hoop-petticoats, prophesying Indian barbarities in consequence.

> "Therefore I must adventure to divine,
> If reformation can't among you shine
> Quickly in wigs and hoops: the mistake 's mine
> If on frontier's f.od savages shan't dine
> Before one year 's expired," &c.
>
> *Proc. Mass. Hist. S.* 1855–58, p. 326.

magnitude of the change. The good women had hardly adjusted their trains to the enlarging demand of fickle Fashion, when Nature, by an unusual disturbance, frightened the poor dames into narrower draperies. An earthquake occurred, and the people of a considerable town in Massachusetts were "so awakened by this awful Providence that the women generally laid aside their Hoop Petticoats."[1]

Rings were the most common article of jewelry, and the gift of these with scarfs and gloves became as general and inapposite as the useless custom of bridal gifts in our day. At the funeral of Governor Belcher's wife in 1736, over 1,000 pairs of gloves were given away. In 1742 an act forbade the giving of rings, scarfs, or gloves at funerals, except six pairs of the latter to bearers, and one pair to the pastor; it did not stop the practice, however.

Marriage in a shift.

I referred to women's shifts in an inventory. This garment, essential as it was, symbolised a curious custom, which marked a step in the evolution of the institution of marriage. The new husband was generally responsible for the previous debts of his bride. If he married her in her shift or chemise on the king's highway, then the creditor could follow her person no further in the pursuit of his debt. Many such marriages were recorded in Rhode Island, often "at evening," as on the 20th day of April, 1724, at Westerly.[2] The practice continued a half century or more later. The observance on the highway relaxed, for I have seen a certificate stating that the bride stood in a closet, extended her arm through a hole in the door, pledged her vows, and joined her heart to the palpitating groom, who stood with the company assembled in the adjoining room.

Their diet.

We are always curious to know how another generation ate and drank, what nourished the daily board, and what good cheer warmed the social life.

[1] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, ii. 631.

[2] *Town Records.*

These things animate the time. The greatest change ever effected in diet, except through alcoholic spirits, was made by the introduction of tea and coffee among the Western nations. Malt was superseded by alcoholic spirits and by cider in New England; finally tea and coffee supplanted these as the common beverage. The political consequences, of this economic introduction of tea some threescore years later into our colonies, were too vast to be expressed here. It suffices to say that in this little Chinese leaf was folded the germ which enlarged into American independence.

Tea and other drinks.

We wonder that Sewall did not mention tea in all his fussing about wines, chocolate, raisins, almonds, figs, etc. It was advertised, together with coffee, by Edward Mill, Sudbury Street, Boston, May 24, 1714,[1] "Very fine green tea, the best for color and taste." In 1718 the accounts at Lynn[2] say it was "little used." There were no tea-kettles as yet, and when the ladies went for a gossip and drinking, each carried her own teacup, — very small, — with saucer, and spoon. By 1740 Bennett finds the ladies in Boston drinking tea, and "indulging every little piece of gentility and neglecting the affairs of their families with as good a grace as the finest ladies[3] in London."[4] Madeira wine and rum punch were

[1] *Bos. News Letter.* [2] Newhall, p. 313.

[3] Tea and tea drinking was matter of comment in England as late as 1740, as we see by the following old English letter: —

"They are not much esteemed now that will not treat high and gossip about. Tea is now become the darling of our women. Almost every little tradesman's wife must set sipping tea for an hour or more in a morning, and it may be again in the afternoon, if they can get it, and nothing will please them to sip it out of but china ware, if they can get it. They talk of bestowing thirty or forty shillings upon a tea equipage, as they call it. There is the silver spoons, silver tongs, and many other trinkets that I cannot name." — Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 191.

[4] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1860, p. 125.

the social drinks, while the "generality of the people with their victuals" drank cider, which was plentiful at three shillings per barrel. There was no good beer,[1] yet English malt was imported occasionally. Coffee was planted in the West Indies about 1720, but it made its way slowly in our colonies. A coffee-mill appears occasionally in the inventories during this period. Chocolate was common, and handled by elaborate methods.[2] Robert Hale[3] confirms the free drinking of wine and punch. On his way to Nova Scotia in 1731 he is royally entertained at Portsmouth by Benning Wentworth, Hunking, Walton, and others. He is not allowed to go to a tavern, but is taken from house to house, where "splendid treats" are served. He saw no women at these parties, excepting the serving maids. And, according to another account, sumptuous entertainments are given in New London,[4] at the Browne-Winthrop and the Stewart-Gardiner marriages.

Boston market.

Bennett's[5] account of food and marketing in Boston in 1740 is careful and full. Butcher's meat, beef, mutton, lamb, and veal averaged 2*d.*, the very best 6*d.*, New England currency; venison plenty and cheap; poultry very cheap, — turkeys at 2*s.* which would be 6*s.* or 7*s.* in London; wild pigeons abundant and cheap from June to September; a twelve-pound cod at 2*d*; smelts plenty; salmon about 1*d.* per lb., and it was at the same price on the Connecticut River;[6] oysters and lobsters in course, the latter in large size at three halfpence each; bread cheap, but not as good as the average in London; butter excellent at 3*d.*; cheese neither good nor cheap; milk at London prices, but full measure.

They tried to get good cheese, though our varieties did

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, May 6, 1736.

[2] *New England Weekly Journal*, May 1, 1727; and *Bos. News Letter*, December 30, 1731.

[3] *MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

[4] Caulkins, *New London*, p. 408.

[5] *Proc. M. H. S.*, pp. 112, 113.

[6] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 315.

not suit a European palate. Rhode Island furnished the best here, probably the best in America. Cheshire was imported constantly. We presume Bennett included only the domestic varieties in his criticism. Loaf sugar was used, and "white" English salt bettered the poorer sort from the Tortugas. Irish beef and butter come, though the latter is sometimes only fit for the soap-boiler; wheat from Maryland and flour from New York, with "pease" from Albany. "Choice ship, white and milk bread" appears.[1]

The common table.

This was the comfortable diet of the larger towns, and of affluent people. The commonalty ate salt pork and fish, baked beans, Indian pudding, rye-and-Indian bread, fried eggs, and black broth. A "boiled dinner" of salt meats, cabbage, and other vegetables, flavored together, was a common dish, served generally in wooden trenchers. "Barley fire-cake" for breakfast, parched corn "nocake," and for company cake made of parched corn and strawberries, was served. Baked pumpkins were common in winter.[2] Potatoes were scattered about after 1720; the first crop in Haverhill yielded only the balls for cooking, for they did not find the tubers until next spring's ploughing.[3]

Knives and forks appear in stocks of merchandise by 1718.[4] The forks were still a luxury, for in the same year Judge Sewall, then courting Mrs. Denison, presents her with two cases, each containing a knife and fork; "one Turtle shell tackling, the other long with Ivory handles squar'd cost 4*s*. 6*d*." [5]

Courtships.

Sewall's experiences, in his various courtships before contracting his second marriage, are very entertaining. After a long and happy married life,

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 19, 1734; Sept. 25, 1735; Dec. 1, 1737.

[2] Drake, *Roxbury*, pp. 56, 57.

[3] Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 250; Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 190; Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 647.

[4] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxi. 415.

[5] 5 *M. H. C.*, vii. 188.

his wife, Judith Hull, died October 19, 1717. By the sixth of February following he had put off the old love sufficiently to pen this naïve statement: "This morning wandering in my mind whether to live a Single or Married life." [1] In less than three weeks more, he could gossip with neighbors in this fashion: "They had laid one out for me; and Governor Dudley told me 't was Madam Winthrop. I told him had been there but thrice, and twice upon Business: He said *Cave* tertium." [2]

Sordid negotiations.

The most striking feature of all his courtships [3] is the very sharp bargaining on both sides. These innocent widows and this kindly magistrate higgle like hucksters and pedlars. Madam Winthrop, in her turn, was "courteous," but spoke "pretty earnestly" about his keeping a coach: "I said twould cost £100 per anũm; she said twould cost but £40." He gave Mrs. Denison a pair of shoe-buckles, cost 5*s.* 3*d.*, and in another interview told her "twas time now to finish our Business. Ask'd her what I should allow her; she not speaking, I told her I was willing to give her Two [Hundred?] and Fifty pounds per anũm during her life, if it should please God to take me out of the world before her. She answer'd she had better keep as she was, than give a Certainty for an uncertainty; she should pay dear for dwelling at Boston. I desired her to make proposals, but she made none."

Either the charms of Mrs. Gibbs were less dear, or his passion had weakened, or the general bride-market had fallen, for he was much more severe in chaffering with this poor lady. He proposes that her sons be bound to pay him "£100 provided their mother died before me: I to pay her £50 per anũm during her Life, if I left her a widow," — the £100 being to indemnify him against former debts in her "administration." Marriage settle-

[1] 5 *M. H. C.*, vii. 165.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 202, 269, 300.

ments must never be viewed too closely, but the petty spirit appearing in all these negotiations is painful. Romance in matrimony was superficial; the economic factor was deep and abiding in a prudent people just yielding to the approach of luxury. Notwithstanding the judge's wary scruples, his example did not seriously affect his young relative, Samuel. He was a "bride man" at the wedding of Conrade Adams's nephew in 1713. Cupid seems to have seized upon his susceptible heart after the ancient fashion, and he "could scarce Refrain his thoughts from the Bliss of matrimony."[1] When the groom carried his bride home "wee were all decently merry two days after the conjunction."

Woman's influence.

Woman, a "sweet sex" even in the singular celibate eyes of Sir Thomas Brown, was held closely to domestic matters, according to modern notions. Yet she influenced larger affairs, as well as that social world all societies have yielded to her almost exclusively. When she trespassed into the outward world of government and administration, she made her gentle hand to be felt. In 1713[2] "most of the Gentlewomen" of Boston waited on the governor "with Prayers and Tears" for the lives of Berry and Mark, condemned to be hanged for counterfeiting paper money. The poor governor's firmness melted in this torrid flood of sympathy. But the feeling against counterfeiters was very urgent and stringent. This incident shows the constant power of feminine sentiment.

Though in a dispute for a wife between two men in Boston[3] one sold his right for 15 shillings, the wives seem to have been able to take care of themselves generally, and the condition of widows was considered carefully in the disposition of property. The bulk of estates was real generally, and the right of dower protected the widow.

[1] *Stephen Sewall's Papers, MS.*, in Am. Ant. Soc.

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Sept. 21, 1713. [3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, March 15, 1736.

In nearly all wills there are minute provisions for the minor rights and comfort of the widows. In Gideon Freeborn's will,[1] at Portsmouth, R. I., $17\frac{19}{20}$, he leaves his wife the use of the "great lower" room, with lodging-room adjoining, firewood and fruit, the use of bed and bedding and of a "good gentle riding horse," one bed and bedding for her own disposing, and £15 yearly during her widowhood; if married again, she would receive only £10.

The use of a riding-horse was a common bequest to widows. Governor Benedict Arnold, a merchant of Newport, but dwelling in Jamestown, R. I., in 1733,[2] after providing well for his widow, and leaving her the service of three negresses, left a three-year-old gray horse, to be kept in a particular pasture, for twenty years. It was to be for "the use of the women of the public ministry of the Quakers" who desired to visit in their ministry any part of New England, New York, or Philadelphia. Freeborn left a bedstead, etc., to remain in his house for "the accomodation of friends as occasion requires." All of this shows a kindly use of property among the Society of Friends.

Division of estates.

The estates were divided sometimes among the children evenly, or nearly so, but not always. A partial primogeniture, following English traditions, prevailed frequently. The sons were preferred over the daughters, almost without exception. Generally, the larger the estate, the greater the relative difference. Pepperell, the father of Sir William, in $173\frac{3}{4}$, left his daughters £500 each in addition to their marriage portions and previous advances; then, after a few bequests, the whole of the large estate descended to the future baronet. The daughters and sons-in-law were much disappointed.[3]

[1] *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, v. 228.
[2] *Ibid.* (Newport), iv. 22.
[3] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 17.

In turning the pages of these wills and inventories, and in reading the meagre lists of books found among these excellent people, we wonder that such poor literature could sustain the mind of so intelligent and practically educated a people. The occasional poems reveal the thin imagination, lean culture, and dull, heavy mental routine, of their lives. A long poem in 1729 on the deaths of Revs. Messrs. Thatcher and Danforth, by Rev. J. Danforth, of Taunton, Mass., is a type: — Their poetry.

> "Their Temper far from Injucundity
> Their tongues and Pens from Infecundity.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> All to their office-work subordinated;
> A work unrivall'd, not to be check-mated;
> A work, upon the Wheels forever going;[1]
> A work, (whatever else was done) still doing," etc.

Think of these pompous platitudes rolling on through hundreds of lines! We are prepared for the statement that the library of Harvard College contained in 1723 no volume from Addison or his fellows, nothing of Locke, Dryden, South, or Tillotson; Shakespeare and Milton had been acquired recently.[2] The Boston inventories contain few books. We wonder that we find so few traces of the stocks of John Dunton, and the booksellers of a generation earlier. Edward Watts[3] bound books at Boston in 1728, Rev. Thomas Harvard, minister of King's Chapel, serenely confident that he would find "no Gout or Stone" in heaven, started on his journey thitherward in 1736. He left a scanty library, "only ninety works, mostly small and of poor quality,"[4] — among them, Fuller's "Medicinal Gymnastica," one vol.; Sydenham's Works, one vol., 14*s.*; Howe's "Blessedness of the Righteous," one vol., 8*s.* The pious scholar was an active writer, and left stacks of unsold publications of his Books.

[1] *Hist. Taunton*, p. 287–289.
[2] Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 384.
[3] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxvi. 319.
[4] *An. King's Chap.*, i. 427–429.

own. In an invoice of books sent to Rev. Mr. Curwen, Salem, from Boston, in 1717, there appears, among a number of obsolete works, a volume, "Apophtegmata Curiosa," at 2*s*.[1]

The largest library at New London in 1726, belonging to George Dennis, contained 139 books, "mostly of small value."[2] The most comprehensive list I have seen covers the library of John Eliott, Esq., at Hartford, in 1719.[3] It contains 243 titles. The brilliant and permanent literature of Queen Anne had made hardly any impression in our colonies, but this collection had two volumes of "The Tattler." It is a most heterogeneous lot, — old histories, sermons, a few medical books, and more upon law, miscellaneous literature, almost all now unknown to the ordinary reader. Then I find the classics always known: books like "Naturali Phylisophia" go out with the generation making them, while Homer and Cicero are read in perpetual succession. Among remembered titles are the "Whole Duty of Man," "Call to the Unconverted," Erasmus's "Colloquies," Calvin's "French Commentary," "Religio Medici," "Defence of Human Learning," Bacon's "Book Learning," Aristotle's "Logic," Josephus, Cicero, Lucan, Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Homer, and Seneca.

Boston had five printing presses in 1719, and bookseller's shops were numerous about the Exchange. Book auctions date from 1717. "Mother Goose" appears. The "News Letter," after fifteen years, had attained a circulation of only three hundred impressions in 1719. But room was found for the "Gazette" at that time. The "New England Courant" began in 1721.[4]

The coming of Berkeley.

We cannot give a history of literature, but any story of the social life of New England would be incomplete which should not notice the advent of

[1] *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

[2] Caulkins, *N. L.*, p. 351.

[3] *Hartford C. P. R.*

[4] For these and other details of the literature of this period, see *Nar. & Crit. Hist. Am.*, v. 121, 137.

Bishop Berkeley, one of the greatest minds of all time, — the greatest foreigner ever sojourning here: his stay and his work left lasting marks on Newport, the place of his abode. These influences reached far beyond the limits of the little eighteenth century paradise on fair Rhode Island. He brought not only a great intellect and great metaphysical insight, but the broadest and most generous culture known in his time. New England had not read the literature of Swift and Addison; they had in Berkeley more, — the power that makes letters. This was something quite different from anything known in Massachusetts or the Connecticut valley for the first two centuries. Commerce always broadens, but there are merchants and merchants. Faneuil and his fellows in Boston were fed by the men living on such literature as we have noted. The Malbones, Wantons, and the rest lived in an atmosphere animated by the genius of Berkeley. John Smybert, a Scotch artist, came with Berkeley. His presence in the colony stimulated the rising love of art.

Henry Collins, an accomplished merchant at Newport and a patron of the arts, commissioned portraits of Berkeley, Hitchcock, and other divines.[1]

The great idealist came in 1728, and left about 1730. His gift of books — the best then known in America — was the foundation of the library of Yale College. The Society of Knowledge and Virtue,[2] springing from his influence and his direct intervention,[3] dates from 1730. Channing was born just fifty years later. The soil of heredity in which Channing germinated was first cultivated by Berkeley. Jonathan Edwards published his first work attracting general attention about 1746; he died in 1758. In these two mental poles, in these two centres of intellectual life, inhered the ideal forces which controlled New England, moulded

Berkeley's influence.

[1] Callender, *R. I.*, p. 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, *R. I.*

[3] *Newport H. Mag.*, iv. 67.

her thought, broadened her Puritanic tendencies, and gave her the lead of America.

The first book published in Newport is said to have been "A Looking Glass for Elder Clarke and Elder Wightman," by William Claggett and other aggrieved Baptists. It was issued in 1721, supposed to have been printed in Boston by James Franklin, the brother of Benjamin. Franklin afterwards located at Newport, and published the "Rhode Island Gazette" in 1733.

A typical town.

The political, ecclesiastical, economical framework we have been considering served to embody and convey the social life of the people; a people who had descended literally from their English ancestors,[1] and had not yet ascended to the plane of our forefathers, the builders of the American republic. Dedham,[2] in 1736, was a type of the early towns made on our soil, — offshoots of those first companies settling on the shore, then putting forth communities instinct with Germanic and Puritanic life; a life speedily adapting itself to the conditions of a new hemisphere. There were some 1,500 inhabitants, nearly all farmers, stretching their homes six or seven miles away from the village, where few besides farmers were left. The separation between close church life and scattered economic life concentrated in families — deprecated by Governor Bradford in the beginning — had accomplished itself. For all these people, there was one minister and one schoolmaster employed for a few weeks in one place. There was one physician, a few mechanics,

[1] Benjamin Colman, writing from England to Stephen Sewall about 1717, claims that the dissenting clergy were equal to those bred in the Established Church. He said the "Act agt Schism" was caused by jealous dread of the Nonconformists. "Whereas they saw with Envy as many fine Scholars and Preachers as we could desire rise up from a private Education, that shone as bright as any of their own Doctors, their spite has burst them, & spread out this Act." *Sewall Papers, MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

[2] Worthington, p. 59.

and no traders. The high consciousness and citizenhood of the first generation, the lofty sense of a peculiar mission, had degenerated into petty local strifes, mere wordy disputes about trifles.

This decadence is illustrated in the Report of Associated Churches of Connecticut to the Governor, Council, and General Court in 1715.[1] After inquiry they reported a lack of Bibles in some families, and of "domestical government;" great neglect of public worship, also of "catechizing;" "irregularity in commutative justice;" tale-bearing, defamation, and intemperance; "calumniating and contempt of authority and order, both civil and ecclesiastical." They proceed to strengthen the laws, and the administration accordingly.

Decadence in Connecticut.

The observance of Sabbath and other religious formalities was very punctilious. In 1715 Paul Davenport, of Canterbury, was fined 20*s.* for riding from Providence on Sunday. In 1720 Samuel Sabin complained of himself before a justice at Norwich,[2] that on the previous Sabbath night he went with a neighbor to visit relations; "did no harm, and fears it may be a transgression of ye law," promises amends, etc. In 1738 orderly meetings on Sunday evening and individual absences from Sabbath public worship are condemned. Nor are these strict proceedings confined to steady-going Connecticut. Boston[3] orders its representatives to procure an act from the General Court in 1715 to prevent stage plays which "may have a Tendancy to corrupt youth," etc. Worcester, in 1733 and 1734, convicts many persons for unnecessary work on "the Lord's day," and the grand jury busies itself over the culprits avoiding public worship.[4]

Morals and manners.

This absurd social exaggeration of little things crops out in many directions. The General Assembly of Con-

[1] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1706, p. 520. [2] Caulkins, pp. 279, 280.
[3] *Town Rec.*, p. 239. [4] *Worcester Soc. Antiquity*, xviii. 71, 107.

necticut in 1725, exempts Mr. Nathaniel Clark from military duty by special act. And what was the reason given by a grave legislature for this simple act? Because he had been educated at the college at Saybrook and "had obtained the honor of a Diploma, which may be supposed to elevate the gentlemen adorned with such a laurel something above the vulgar order;" nevertheless he had been called to military and other common employments, "a disparaging imposition on the order above said."[1] Defence of his country came between the wind and his nobility.

We smile at the expenditure of so much legislative and administrative force upon these trivial errors. Our time would put these trespasses into the province of manners, and could not lift them into the region of morals. Not so the eighteenth-century Puritans. Their conscience, their concurrent public sentiment, was oppressed by these petty crimes and prepared for some great change; it was found in the mission of Whitefield in 1740. The evangelist found a people sore in their own heart, ready to respond to his fiery appeal.

Our country partook of its period.

Nor should we exaggerate the features of these worthies either in the high lights or the low shadows. It has been too much the fashion to exalt the Massachusetts provincial generations into a sweet company of frost-bitten angels, oppressed and a little warped out of their skyward tendencies by the royal officers, or by their own citizens elevated and corrupted by royal commissions. These artless Puritan celestials reveal their earthly natures in the facts we have cited, which are not exceptional. Governor Belcher, with his brutal slang;[2] town officers slinging epithets;[3] Rev. Hugh Adams using his "money if mistaken and Misimprov'd as a bribe for an antidote against any real Bribes," his pa-

[1] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1717, p. 533.

[2] *N. H. Prov. P.*, iv. 880. [3] Worthington, *Dedham*, p. 59.

rishioners harshly scurrilous; magistrates busy with Sabbath-breakers, — all these jarring, petty, constituent parts of a starveling commonwealth were but the superficial exponents of a deeper, stronger, religious and civil life. This generation, somewhat corrupted by its great material prosperity, was not better or worse than its time. The eighteenth century was germinating the forces which rent and recreated the social world ere its years ran out. The New England of Adams and Belcher, creeping in the low valleys as it was, yet was not lower down in the historic scale than the England of Walpole, or the France of Louis XV.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMERCE AFTER THE TREATY OF UTRECHT.

1713–1745.

THE great struggle on the continent of Europe known as the War of the Spanish Succession, ended in the Peace of Utrecht. This epoch in the affairs of the Old World affected the colonies of America vitally and permanently. The mind of Europe, agitated, almost convulsed through the seventeenth century by profound religious questions, disputed finally on the field of battle, had become quiet.

Religious quiet and new politics.

The stormy era of religious and dogmatic discussion was followed by a peaceful calm of philosophic skepticism.[1] Politics left the spiritual domain of religion, and found its business in urging forward the material and industrial interests of the nations. The greatest commercial factor under the new treaties was in the "Assiento" slave contract, by which Spain passively, England actively, became the greatest dealers of all time in human flesh, mind, and spirit.

The political and military power of France, preëminent in the preceding century, passed to England; while the maritime and commercial interests of Holland, gradually supplanted since Charles II.'s time, gave way completely, and Great Britain became the acknowledged mistress of the seas in war and peace.

Great Britain mistress of the seas.

The beginning of the end of French colonial enterprise in North America dates from this treaty. Acadia and Newfoundland, excepting its fishing privileges, were acquired by England. But this slight territorial

[1] Grovestins, *Guillaume et Louis*, viii. 317.

change was no measure of the waning and increasing colonial power of the two countries. The northern colonies of France fell constantly behind in comparative development. The final victory of Wolfe over Montcalm at Quebec was merely symbolic of the superiority of the English race in those qualities which subdue continents. Spain ceased to be an element of consequence on the mainland of our continent.

Such momentous changes — in the grouping of political powers, in the rise and decline of nations — must produce some corresponding result in the dependencies of those nations in the Western World. We have seen the results of this change in the growing home industries and wealth of New England, developed under all the disadvantages of a hard struggle with France for the final possession of the northern provinces. Now we take up the commerce which fed those industries, — the contact with the world outside, which developed the maritime traders of the second colonial period into the merchants of the third period. It was a time of enlargement. The ketch became the schooner; the petty ventures of John Hull extended into the larger operations of Peter Faneuil.

Effect in the colonies.

After the European changes creating a greater demand and compelling industrial effort, one main cause for this extension of commerce was in the action of English capital brought over to reinforce that of the Boston merchants. The colonial resources had grown sufficiently to afford a stable basis for larger operations, and to attract the ever-ready assistance of foreign capital. Mr. Thomas Amory,[1] of Boston, describes the process in 1722 in a letter to an Irish relative. The best method was to send over goods in advance, and to have timber cut in the fall ready for a vessel on arrival. A "small matter" of Irish goods, white or brown linen, or

Accessions of English capital.

[1] *MS. Letter Book*, Oct. 6, 1722.

other staple commodities, would buy a cargo of lumber. "The Bristol men have a great trade here, as also the Londoners, by sending effects to build vessels, which load for the straights [Gibraltar] with fish, and so round to London. In this they find great advantage, as also in building larger ships, which they send with fish and lumber to the West Indies to take a freight home, where they will sell the ships, and send the effects to build more."

Here we see the whole round of commerce. Capital starts the impulse, but works through the skill and resources of an industrious community to supply the needs of the rich tropical islands, then returns, heavy with increase, to its owners. The New England trade with the West Indies, always so important, was especially stimulated in the French possessions at this time by the abolition of government restrictions which had existed since 1664. In 1717 [1] the trade in these islands was freed under the king's patent, the decree being called a "precious monument." The illicit commerce with the American colonies, prohibited by England, which we shall discuss further on, was made easier by these changes.[2]

Boston, in Mr. Amory's phrase "a fine place and a noble country of great trade and good conversation," was the centre of this activity, but Newport came forward rapidly in this period, and all the maritime towns took part in the rising prosperity. For example, New London had built sloops hitherto, with an occasional snow and possibly a brig. In 1716 [3] Captain Hutton launched a ship, and after that brigs became common. This ship probably carried horses to the West Indies, as Captain Hutton took out the extraordinary cargo of forty-five to Barbadoes in that year. Six of these "horse jockeys," as the craft were named, left New London harbor together June 26, 1724. Such villages as Marblehead [4] started

[1] *Commerce de L'Amerique*, i. 18.
[2] See below, p. 557.
[3] Caulkins, *New London*, p. 242.
[4] Roads' *History*, p. 41.

their own West India and Gibraltar merchants in 1714. These facts are mentioned to show the widening out of commerce. The statistics[1] of the number of vessels are uncertain and perplexing. Chalmers disputes the current figures, but admits a large movement of trade. He says[2] that in 1714 the domestic commerce of the northern colonies was nearly equal to that carried on with England; that the trade to the West Indies, Azores, and the continent of Europe was larger than the whole coasting combined with the British trade. The colonists and their English correspondents had the ocean commerce pretty much to themselves, for the advantages cited by Mr. Amory show that foreign vessels could not compete to any extent. Governor Hunter stated to the Board of Trade in 1718,[3] that "no foreign vessel" had appeared in New York during his government there.

Spread of commerce.

The Board of Trade[4] reported in 1721 that the clearances to New England in three years were 240 ships, 20,276 tons; that the trade between England and "the American plantations" employed at least one fourth of the annual clearances. At the same time they said the English imports into America exceeded the exports by about £200,000 per annum, "which debt falls upon the provinces to the northward of Maryland." These figures confirm the above-stated flow of English capital into New England. They said that the American pitch and tar had become equal to any in the world, and the supply had lowered the current price one third.

Pitch and tar, aromatic and fragrant with the obedience of loyal subjects, were about the only comfortable and sweet-smelling colonial products received by his Majesty's courtiers. The colonists, New Englanders especially, would

[1] See Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 429; Barry, *Mass.*, ii. 106, 107; *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 618; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 54.

[2] Chalmers, *Revolt Am. Col.*, ii. 8.

[3] *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, v. 520.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 615.

not produce naval stores enough, and would sell those they did produce to Portugal, Spain, and France, and would make iron and woollens to the annoyance of native Englishmen. The Navigation Acts of Charles II. — which, administered as they were, fostered our commerce in the beginning — continued a standing witness of sovereign imbecility in the English government of her American possessions.[1] Governor after governor is reproved, admonished, urged to stop illegal traffic, now with one, now another foreign port.

Navigation Acts poorly administered.

In 1715 and 1717 it was the "French plantations" and Governor Hunter, of New York,[2] that were blamed by the blear-eyed, obtuse officials at Whitehall. The poor governor issued most stringent proclamations, though "what effect it may have in deterring men from it I cannot tell." Others could tell the effect, which the vexed servant of the crown dared not put into words. It was matter of the commonest report. Mr. Thomas Amory in 1721 reveals to a correspondent the transparent stratagems by which prohibited goods were handled and the Acts defied under the eyes of the king's officers: "If you have a Captain you can confide in you will find it easy to import all sorts of goods from the Streights, France, and Spain, although prohibited." In another letter: "Modes, Lutestrings, and Tea are staple commodities. They are prohibited; but nothing is more easy to import, recommending to the Captain not to declare at the Custom House — If he should he would forfeit his ship and pay a penalty — There are no waiters kept aboard, and when the goods are known to be prohibited boats are sent off."[3] There was no lack of certificates and bonds to give the vessels a good character.[4]

The royal officials even were not over-nice in their ideas

[1] See advertisement, *Bos. Gazette*, Sept. 17, 1722.

[2] *Doc. N. York*, v. 402, 498.

[3] *MS. Letter Book.*

[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 37.

of propriety. Good Stephen Sewall, a high magistrate, writes to his brother Mitchell that Collector Wendell, supping with a large company, including the governor of the Province, heard that Mitchell Sewall got large sums by "Bottoming." The governor happened not to overhear, but the canny judge, taking the friendly hint, advises his brother: "You Ought to be Very Cautious what is said in that Matter — for y^e^ Gov^r^ Told me Last Week yo^rs^ was y^e^ Best post in y^e^ County."[1]

But in 1733[2] the "News Letter," commending the many virtues of John Jekyll, the deceased collector of the customs, gave this extraordinary notice of a royal officer: "With much humanity (he) took pleasure in *directing Masters of Vessels* how they ought to avoid the Breach of the *Acts of Trade*." Decorous smuggling.

There was no exception to this easy virtue in the highest places, apparently. In an argument for a bureau of the king's lands, etc., to be independent of any governor, Lewis Morris, of New York, advises the Lords of Trade that abuses will exist "whilst that Smuggling Trade of presents from an Assembly to a Gov^r^ subsists, and which will subsist till some way is found to make the Gov^r^ believe that the King's Instructions prohibiting taking any presents really mean what the words seem to import."[3]

Great fortunes were made in every kind of illicit traffic[4] in the colonies.[5] Nor was there any lack of official knowledge of transgressions of the Navigation Acts. On some occasions the trading was "prohibited;" on others it was "discouraged" only.[6] The selectmen of Boston felt obliged to notice the public utterance of the governor in 1721, that "French silks & Stuffs are comonly brought into this Province," and to make a show of action in the

[1] *Stephen Sewall MS. Papers*, Am. Ant. Soc.
[2] Next issue after Dec. 21–28.
[3] *Doc. N. York*, v. 953.
[4] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, ii. 727.
[5] Chalmers, *Pol. An.*, ii. 141.
[6] *Doc. N. York*, v. 513.

matter.[1] Occasionally property was carried into the courts, but there is no evidence that much benefit went to the royal exchequer thereby.[2]

If the conduct of the crown officers was such as these statements exhibit, we may expect to find all the results of poor government in the conduct of the governed. In fact, at Newport, in 1719, Heathcote reported to the Lords of Trade that, because the king's officers hindered the people "from a full freedom of illegal trade,"[3] the collector having seized several hogsheads of claret by due process, a mob in broad daylight took the wine and stove the casks in the open streets. The popular feeling ran so high that John Wanton, a respectable merchant and magistrate, arrested Kay, the collector, on a trumped-up charge for illegal fees, etc. The doughty Rhode Island Quaker, Wanton, even issued a second warrant, taking the king's officer from duty at the custom-house, and would not admit him to bail. In 1739, at New York, the Admiralty Judges would not keep their jurisdiction over some molasses and gunpowder duly libelled, "not having been *bonâ fide* laden in Great Britain." The lieutenant governor said, if the decision was sound, "no breach of the 15th Car: 2d Cap. 7, can be tryed in the Admiralty but must be tryed at Common Law by a Jury, who perhaps are equally concerned in carrying on an illicit trade."[4]

Walpole's indifference.

Either Sir Robert Walpole was in his generation much wiser than George Grenville in his time, or he knew much less of what was being done in the dependencies of the crown. Caleb Heathcote said sagaciously, when he reported the Newport doings concerning the claret, that they were extraordinary, and "hurtful to

[1] *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 157.

[2] *Bos. News Letter*, July 24, Nov. 6, 1721; Felt, *Salem*, ii. 254.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 259.

[4] *Doc. N. York*, vi. 155; and for certificate dated 1730, see *Essex Inst.*, i. 169.

the prerogative and service of the crown, and contrary to the Acts of Trade." If the same turbulent colonies were not brought to account for such flagrant liberty and unchartered freedom, he foresaw that it "may with time be attended with very ill consequences."

If Walpole, the great temporiser, had any sufficient plan for governing the colonies properly, he made no sign of putting it forth. The great minister managing parliaments knew little of the greater issues beyond the Atlantic, while the official starling was gravely and continually sending over his platitudes for diverting the plantations "from the thoughts of setting up manufactures of their own, interfering with those of Great Britain, & from carrying on an illicit trade with foreigners."[1]

The governments of Europe maintained order but feebly in the new hemisphere appropriated by their ambition, then neglected in their careless domination and in their greedy desire for wealth. In our present period, one of the worst forms of disorder was in piracy on the high seas. In a former chapter I have sketched the course of pirates as they were developed gradually from private men-of-war, and were partially sustained by better people, ill-educated in the imperfect commercial ethics of the time. Now we have piracy of another order, more extended,[2] bolder, more cruel and rapacious.

Rise of outlawed pirates.

Inefficient government makes outlaws, who are worse than savages. The maritime nations, after their fierce struggles concluded in 1713, emptied their navies, and sent swarms of sailors adrift without employment. Commerce was uncertain. Moreover, the warrior who had

[1] Lords of Trade to the king, *Doc. N. York,* v. 628.

[2] Communication with England was so uncertain in 1717, the coast being "much Infested with Pyrates," that Major Sewall congratulates his friend Dummer especially on the safe arrival of Governor Belcher. *Stephen Sewall Papers,* Am. Ant. Soc.

tasted the delights of prize money found the ways of peaceful traffic tame and spiritless. The New World offered frequent opportunities for adventurers on the seas. The Spanish colonial governors carelessly or wilfully granted commissions, which were exceeded as soon as the freebooter was out of port. But the black flag soon answered their purpose as well as any recognised authority. They found the Spanish Main and the Atlantic coast almost helpless. The swoop of the hawk upon its prey was very like their course among the small craft, shedding the blood of mariners and plundering the cargoes. Sometimes they descended on the coasts. The royal navy furnished an occasional escort,[1] but the risks of trade in the decade following the Peace of Utrecht were aggravated enormously by these reckless and powerful rovers.

Some English colonial officials were implicated in piracy.[2] In some instances the original cruiser was fitted out by owners on shore. Tew, admiral and chief of the pirate colony at Madagascar, once sent fourteen times the value of his outfit to his owners in the Bermudas. "Runaway" vessels were often advertised.[3] But, once afloat, the pirates soon extended operations far beyond the first vessel, and created a fleet from their captures. The ordinary commercial craft carried a few guns, but the crew was no match for the skill and numbers of the corsairs. Generally a pirate carried ten or twenty guns, and eighty to one hundred men. But Teach equipped one vessel with forty guns, as the story runs.

Privateers and pirates.

The corsairs succeeded naturally to the old privateers; the descent was easy to the outlawed pirate, who became frequently a mere desperado, controlled

[1] *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1720.

[2] Johnson, *Pyrates*, i. 77. I use his statements freely. Many stories are mere traditions, but Johnson wrote conscientiously, and the realism of many incidents carries its own evidence.

[3] *Bos. News Letter*, May 18, 1713; Dec. 3, 1730.

by no power beyond the average passions of his crew. In 1720 Bartholomew Roberts voiced the pirate's opinions and sentiments very well: "In an honest service there is thin Commons, low Wages and hard Labour; in this Plenty and Satiety, Pleasure and Ease, Liberty and Power; and who would not ballance Creditor on this side, when all the Hazard that is run for it, at worst, is only a sour Look or two at Choaking. No, a merry Life and a short one, shall be my motto."[1] The bandit and sensualist spoke here; the outlaw, the robber of the law's results and accumulated treasures, spoke more plainly through Captain Bellamy in 1717, when he took Captain Beer, in a sloop from Boston, off South Carolina: "Damn ye, you are a Sneaking Puppy, and so are all those who will submit to be governed by Laws which rich Men have made for their own Security. They rob the Poor under the Cover of Law, forsooth, and we plunder the Rich under the Protection of our own Courage; had you not better make one of us than sneak after those Villains for Employment?"[2]

The pirates generally gave the captured crews opportunity to turn outlaws and join them.[3] This society beyond the law was not regulated by the mere will of its chief, though his executive power in action was of necessity almost absolute. He maintained his authority by skill and judgment, and in the last resort by inherent brutal force, which no individual could resist; as when the arch miscreant, Blackbeard, wounded two of his own men, who were not offending and remonstrated, he answered, if he did not now and then kill one of them they "would forget who he was."

Yet this absolutist was not without a check upon his power. Government outside and beyond government curiously illustrates that no government is impossible. The

[1] Johnson, *Pyrates*, i. 271.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 219.
[3] *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1717, p. 166.

power of aristocracy was embodied in the captain and such officers as he admitted to his confidence. The greater power of democracy was expressed through the quartermaster, who represented the crew, looked after their particular interests, and must be considered and propitiated in all the plans of the despot of the quarter deck.

Aristocracy and democracy.

Especial knowledge and skill, also, can dispute arbitrary power. Edward Low,[1] one of the most active [2] and brutal captains, received a severe cut, laying his teeth bare; the remedial operation did not please the peevish autocrat, and he found fault with the surgeon. The latter, being "tollerably drunk," struck a violent blow with his fist, breaking out all the stitches from the wound, and bid Low "sew up his Chops himself and be damned." These were some of the amenities of disorder to which lawful life was not subject. Low's crews, on the whole, were more barbarous than any others. They tortured their victims, and their capricious humor was even worse than their cruelty. The practice of piracy was at its worst about 1723. The English government was showing a little energy at last, and as the cords of justice tightened, the outlaws became more and more reckless. Captain Solgard, of his Majesty's ship Grayhound, brought a sloop with 36 pirates into Newport. Of these 26 were convicted, and hung under their own "deep Blew Flagg," "old Roger." Low escaped. The maudlin piety of these criminals, expressed in their lucubrations and poems [3] after conviction, is no better than their defiance of all law when at liberty.

Amenities of disorder.

The fabled idea of the pirate — wrong himself, but righting wrong by chivalric generosity, bold and brilliant where common, industrious men were sordid and plod-

[1] *Doc. N. York*, v. 685; *Bos. News Letter*, July 2, 1722.

[2] Amory, *Letter Book*, Aug. 12, 1723.

[3] See *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, vii. 260.

ding — was perhaps most nearly realised in the person of Misson. He was cadet of a noble family in Provence, and organised a mutiny on a French man-of-war, which he turned into a piratical cruiser. His education was equal to his birth, and the traditions all make him out a gallant man. Thomas Tew, the famous Newport pirate, was trained to the business by Captain Misson. These larger rebels generally preyed on the rich East Indian commerce, and had their rendezvous at Madagascar.

The ordinary West Indian mid-atlantic pirate of 1720 appears in the figure of Bartholomew Roberts [1] as he attacked The Swallow. Waving his sword, he stood in his rich crimson damask waistcoat and breeches, a red feather in his hat, while a gold chain around his neck bore a diamond cross. A silk scarf thrown over his shoulder, carrying two pairs of pistols, was the particular mark of a pirate chieftain. Roberts bore himself valiantly, and ordered his men to the admiration of the witnesses.

Blackbeard the chief ruffian.

The most famous ruffian of them all was William Teach, surnamed Blackbeard. His flowing mantle of hair fitly adorned this improved savage; it became a symbol of terror, almost supernatural in power, for all the coasts of North America and the West Indies. His career was from 1716 to 1718, when he was killed during a sojourn in North Carolina by an expedition under Lieutenant Maynard, sent by the governor of Virginia. The administration of affairs was so lax at this time that he may have had a better field than his compeers. Certainly he outshone his rivals in the lurid glories of the outlawed world. He possessed an audacious enterprise, an initiating force, beyond the brutal courage of Low and such fellows. There was organising and masterful power in him. He not only fitted out many vessels under his lieutenants, but he prevailed over the governor of South Carolina so that he obtained a chest of much-

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, Aug. 22, 1720; *N. H. Prov. P.*, ii. 735.

needed medicines, worth £300 or £400, with provisions for his vessels; then he released his prizes and prisoners, after bagging £1,500 in specie, and sailed away in triumph. When in The Queen Ann's Revenge, of forty guns, he met another pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Major Bonnet, "a gentleman of good Reputation and Estate in Barbadoes." He put his own officer, Richards, into the sloop, taking Bonnet in his own ship, telling him "he had not been used to the Fatigue and Care of such a Post; it would be better for him to decline it, and live easy at his Pleasure in such a ship as his" (Teach's). It is needless to say that Bonnet declined. These traits show a grim humor under his fierce exterior. He softened, too, under the charms of the fair sex. He feared not Samson's lot when he brought his long beard to the lap of a gentle dame of his choice. He chose wisely and often. As tradition runs, he married fourteen wives, while only two brides had passed to the polygamous paradise awaiting them. Wonderful Blackbeard! his multifarious tenderness was equal to his courage in battle.

The last of the pirates who attracted general attention was J. Phillips,[1] in 1723–1724, who, with his companions, began by running away from the Newfoundland fishing fleet. It was charged by Johnson [2] that the English fishing vessels carried over their crews at low wages and on poor fare. The men were harshly treated, and were sometimes tempted into piracy. The conviction of Phillips and his gang in 1724 — the execution cost the state £15 18*s.* 8*d.*[3] — probably checked this tendency among the fishermen. Some idea of the depredations of the earlier and larger pirates may be formed from the operations of Phillips. This gang took thirty-seven vessels in a little more than six months.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 340, 341, 394; Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 287; *Bos. News Letter*, April 16, 1724.

[2] *Pyrates*, i. 404, 405.

[3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 400.

About 1725 there was considerable trouble from the depredations of French and Indian pirates off the coast of Maine and extending to Labrador.[1] Pirates never ceased to interfere with commerce on the high seas. But the days of Kidd and Blackbeard had passed away. Better police and more settled commercial pursuits kept the seas in order. The development of private war into piracy, and the passage of outlawry into organised spoliation, had worked itself out.

Decline of piracy.

The whole world was advancing in civilisation, and the little settlements on the low coast of New England had made their full share of progress in their century of existence. Thomas Amory, founder of a line of merchants and manufacturers in Boston, where he settled in 1719, being bred in the commerce of the Azores, Portugal, Holland, and England, reveals our condition in a single sentence: "People live handsomely here (Boston) and without fear of anything." This indicates clearly the settled social condition which prevailed in the older parts of New England. The tremendous struggles of Louis XIV. and William III. had subsided on the continent. The England of Walpole had succeeded to that of Marlborough. The Western World worked securely in this calm, though the New England colonies were girding themselves for the great contest for possession of the French provinces in the North.

Progress in living.

In the general destruction of commercial documents, we are fortunate in having full personal records of the brief mercantile career in Boston of Mr. Thomas Amory.[2] He was descended from an English

Thomas Amory.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 410, 420, 466.

[2] 1720–28. This sketch is drawn from a MS. volume of his correspondence, collected and arranged by his great-grandson, Thomas C. Amory, Esq., counsellor, of Boston.

It is through his kindness that I am enabled to give the detailed notes from his letters, and this account, which is absolutely accurate, an autobiography in little, — a memoir reproduced from the words of the man himself.

family, settled for some 300 or 400 years in Oxfordshire and later in Devon and Somerset. He was born in 1683 at Limerick, Ireland, near the abode of his uncle Thomas, who married a daughter of the nineteenth Lord Kerry. He was carried by his parents to Barbadoes, where his mother died. His father, Jonathan Amory, removed to Charleston, S. C., about 1686, where he was a merchant, and Speaker of the South Carolina House of Assembly in 1694; he was Treasurer of the Proprietors in 1698–99, when he died. Meanwhile Thomas had been sent to England, where his cousin Thomas, counsellor in the Temple, placed him in the Westminster School. We have no evidence that "the little rod" of the great Busby, which "had birched 16 bishops," ever crossed the shoulders of our American boy. The famous pedagogue was drawing toward his ninetieth year when Thomas came under his charge. The Westminster was preëminently a gentleman's school, and a knowledge of man as well as languages could be obtained there. The solid classical training of the old time stood by young Amory well, for he read and wrote Latin with ease, and afterward was fluent in Portuguese, French, and Dutch.

Schooled by Dr. Busby.

At the death of his father, he was taken from school, at the age of sixteen, and placed in the counting-house of Nicholas Oursel, a French merchant, in London. He was regularly bound in the sum of £50 as an apprentice, and the contract was no mere form in those days. After his death in Boston, his widow speaks of the 'prentice, and of his going to the Azores in charge of his master's business in 1706. He soon commenced operations on his own account in Terceira, trading with Portugal, England, Holland, the Brazils, and America. After 1711 we have his correspondence, and some account books. He wrote in English, French, or Portuguese at will. The letters are somewhat diffuse, after

Merchant at Terceira.

the manner of the time, but are clear and forcible expositions of his meaning and of his mercantile sagacity. His handwriting was beautiful, and the accounts were carefully done, in excellent method. The old vellum-bound ledgers and invoices, kept by his own hand in his early days, are elegant in their kind. He soon obtained the confidence of his fellows, and the settled position of a merchant; for we find him in 1712 buying a rich French prize, the *Mercure Volante*, in company with Mr. William Fisher, the richest merchant of the place. He went to Europe to dispose of her, visiting several ports, and on his return was made English, French, and Dutch consul at Terceira. He bought real estate, including vineyards, and acquired property gradually. We say gradually, for the adventures of those days brought wealth by slow processes. The profits were larger, but the losses were in proportion, and the ventures were always uncertain. The merchant of the eighteenth century impressed himself upon his enterprise, controlled his affairs more individually, than has been done in any period before or since. Convoyed transports, court concessions, chartered privileges, no longer possessed the avenues of trade, and monopolies had ceased to control, though they still interfered with, its natural courses. Concentrated capital and the great mechanical inventions of our century had not yet mastered individual effort, and compelled it along narrow lines prescribed by a new industrial life. In this shifting time, the gallant little ship — not half the size of a modern pleasure yacht and owned by individuals — adventured everywhere, braving unknown coasts and frequent wars, while fierce pirates and the hardly less reckless privateer thronged the best avenues of commerce. It was the time for the men of the New World, and our subject was a type of his period. Cosmopolitan in his infancy, trained on English soil among the sons of the best English men, he went to the

Western Islands, where vessels from all the world drifted by, and there he lived in the great commercial currents of the time.

Without effective capital, — for his South Carolina inheritance was much of it in real estate, and the balances were withheld, in diametrical opposition to his directions, — without powerful friends to aid him directly, he made his way to a good estate by his own pluck, skill, and sagacious management, backed by solid honesty. His career is very instructive. The most promising ventures did not turn out the best. The purchase of the French prize, a ship with twenty-four guns and richly laden, proved a failure, almost a disaster, after much wearisome effort. A storm drove her away from the Azores without her intended supercargo. Amory followed her to Lisbon as soon as possible, but she had lost much of her cargo by a bad storm on the passage, and the delay injured the affair there; then he took her to Amsterdam. But in the Texel she broke three cables in half an hour, and was driven ashore at high tide in six feet of water. Then, being half-freighted, the Peace of Utrecht suddenly cut off the remainder half. Great expenses followed these mischances, his interest being one fourth. The expected quick and profitable turn of the cargo, with his trip to his old home in Charleston, S. C., which he had planned, was turned into a loss, and he went directly back to Angra to make it up.

His ventures.

There is no trace of despondency in any of several accounts of the affair he gives to his intimate friends as well as to his partners. He starts cheerfully to send The Poor Jack to Brazil, "and please God hope so to bring up my losses." On the 12th of July, 1713, a few days after his return from England, Amsterdam, and Lisbon, he orders Geo. Jaffrey, Portsmouth, N. H., "to buy or build a ship, one half for me, one half for Mr. Fisher." Fisher & Co. owned half the French prize, and his manage-

ment of the losing operation must have been good, or his copartners would not have ventured again and at once with him. There seems to be no trace of disagreement in any of his frequent dealings with Fisher. And to lose money properly is the true test of the good merchant.

Though the losing *Mercure Volante* brought him no profit, she gave him what was better, — opportunity, acquaintance, notice, and business. He was made consul by the English, Dutch, and French, and these combined offices brought him opportunities of vantage and profit. We hear more of his particular losses than of his particular profits; those appear in the general result. He works steadily, and, however disappointed, always patiently. Patience has been called every-day courage, and in this world courage is always rewarded.

Enlarged opportunities.

He closed his business in the Azores in 1719, leaving an agent to attend to his property, or "effects," and went to Charleston, S. C., by way of Boston. He intended to settle in business there. Indeed, we find from the correspondence that, seven years before, a matrimonial connection between his guardian's daughter and himself had been in contemplation, his sister, Mrs. Arthur Middleton, and Mrs. Black, being intimate friends. But during this long period that his absence was prolonged, the lady had formed an attachment to another, without the approval of her parents. It was proposed, after his reaching Carolina, that her younger sister should become his wife, but for several reasons he enumerates in his more complicated letters, and particularly his dislike to the climate of Charleston, he resolved not to make his home in Carolina, and returned to Boston, where he settled permanently in business in 1720. His instructions to his agent at Terceira, at this time, show how scrupulous was his conduct, and how he prized his good name: "Now if the above people send for these effects sell anything that belongs to me, or take money at interest on my account so

Settled in Boston.

that you continue to discharge them, for I had rather be a loser any way than have my reputation in question abroad."

Mr. Amory purchased lands on the southern confines of the Boston of that period, built a house and wharf and distilleries. In 1721 he bought lands in Maine, where there was good water-power and sawmills. His experience in the Azores, together with these manufacturing facilities, gave him advantage in the trade of the West Indies and the Carolinas. He dealt with Europe and the Azores also, but the Southern commerce was far more important in Boston at that time. Before commencing these permanent operations, he had made a tour through Rhode Island and New York to Philadelphia. He says that he liked the whole continent, and we must remember he had examined, with his merchant's eye, Lisbon, Amsterdam, London, and other commercial capitals, but he found no place like Boston for activity of commerce. He hired a store on the Long Wharf of his intimate friend, Jonathan Belcher, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. He joined in some of the clubs of the time, was very active in all affairs, riding about to the settlements in Rhode Island and New Hampshire on horseback. He was a favorite with his neighbors, and, as his widow said after his death, "ready and capable." His letter books show prodigious activity; sometimes there are forty or fifty pages well written, often in Portuguese or French, in a single day.

He married Rebecca, the daughter of Mr. Francis Holmes, as she says "by God's providence," in May, 1721. After a month's experience he writes to his father-in-law at Charleston in his usual cheery and confident manner: "This week we have got to housekeeping as new beginners in one of the new houses of Mr. Lindall. Our concern is to get a good servant or black housemaid, for good servants are scarce to be had here. If in your way be pleased not to lose the op-

Domestic life.

portunity of buying a good black maid. Rebecca remembers her duty to you. I doubt not that Please God we shall be very happy and contented together, finding her very good humoured." In writing to his cousin he had described his bride as having "all the qualities to make a good wife, being virtuous, discreet, and good humoured. As to her fortune, it is but £500, your money [of England] which is all they give generally with their daughters. Her father is well to pass in the world."

He died at Boston, June 20, 1728, leaving a fortune in hand of £7,000 to £8,000, with debts due him amounting to more than £12,000, which were collected afterwards.[1] It is in the conduct of his operations, and in the mode of his life, that we find the chief interest of Mr. Amory's history. Having created his own resources, he died just as his operations had fairly begun. Self-reliance was the necessary virtue for that period of individual outgrowth, and his experience affords it; and it was a reliance based on prudence and foresight. Alert and bold, he never forgot his retreat. When he expected great returns from the *Mercure Volante*, he directed his correspondent to invest three fourths of his share in European goods, but to deposit one fourth in the hands of Mr. Godin in London.

Thus he would keep a reserve. And from Boston he writes to his agent at Terceira, that friends have offered him capital for the London trade at that port, but he had declined it, wishing to push the business there as far as possible with his own means, but unwilling to extend himself too far. Long credits prevailed, and the profits were good; the prospect tempted an enterprising young merchant to employ all the capital he could borrow. His action was not the mere timidity of routine, it was judgment. When the South Sea excitement inflamed the whole world he writes: "Taking notice that my old master, Mr. Oursel, is concerned — We hear he hopes to make a great hand of it. I wish he may. Time will show."

[1] This did not include his property in the Azores and in Carolina.

He was resolute, and pressed his affairs in the courts when other means of settlement had failed. But he preferred arbitration always. His vexatious difference with Oursel had lasted nearly a score of years, and yet we find him only six months before his death discussing it in the most candid and temperate manner. "I shall be heartily glad and rejoice to clear up all differences between us — Let me know your objections and I will answer them and put our account into any honorable merchant's hands in London that you will propose and I will name two or three of whom you shall choose one." Business, though profitable, was not transacted easily. He trusts from his early and scanty capital "in sterling" to Oursel, and it does not return. He deals with many from whom he cannot collect again. In 1719 he is obliged to levy upon Jaffrey, at Portsmouth, N. H., for justice, for he "owes me £300, this money, and I cannot get a penny of it." He never descends into any chicanery or subtlety; he deals in plain courses when in difficulty. His prudence was based on his conscience, and an endurance which trusted in God. The seventeenth century men were fond of prying into the Providence of our daily affairs too curiously, and the merchants of the eighteenth were more sensible in their expressions. He appears to have been reverent and pious in a simple way; inscribes his letter and memo. books, "*Au nom de Dieu*," or "In the Name of God Amen." "Thursday Oct. 4, 1726. Found a Spanish pistole in Mr. Selby's Coffee House (given Epis. Ch. So.)." He records this as carefully and as indifferently as he states the purchase of a negro, or the receipt of a lot of rice. He was a man of the world, peaceable, and, so far as any record reveals, pure, domestic, and affectionate. His letters describe and mingle together all his affairs, — mercantile and personal, — his hopes, desires, and affections, and few records of men anywhere are so minute and faithful. Such men leave

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a permanent mark on their time, whatever be their vocation.

Before treating the general commerce of this period we will consider the business of building the shipping in which that commerce was conducted. We may put the golden days of colonial and provincial shipbuilding in the first decades of paper inflation, before prices had been so generally advanced that our mechanics could not compete with the specie values of Europe. In 1724 [1] sixteen master ship-carpenters of the Thames complained to the king that their trade was injured, and their workmen were emigrating, on account of the New England competition. Shipbuilding.

Much the most interesting feature in all this marine architecture was in the invention of the schooner, in our first year. Ketch, brigantine, and snow had foreshadowed this new type of vessel. The genuine fore and aft sail on two corresponding masts was not put into use until Abraham Robinson launched the "strangely rigged craft" at Gloucester, Mass., in 1713.[2] Tradition runs that a by-stander exclaimed, as she slid into the water, "How she schoons," the sagacious and delighted master builder cried out, "A schooner let her be." When we think of the long career of this type of vessel, — now nearly two centuries, — its gradual gain over brig and ship, its steady development into three, four, even five masted forms, its entry into the world of commerce is a most significant fact. Moreover it is the only one, of many sailing craft succeeding the old viking sailor, which has been able to adapt steam to itself. Steamers and propellers have patronised sails as a temporary dependence. The big modern schooner makes a smoke-funnel of its fourth mast, using steam, not for propulsion, but to hoist its mighty canvas wings, and thus transfer labor from The schooner.

[1] Chalmers, *Revolt Am. Cols.*, ii. 33 ; and *Essex Inst.*, i. 80.

[2] Babson, *Gloucester*, pp. 137, 252 ; 1 *M. H. C.*, ix. 234.

its toiling crew to the smutty demon or donkey engine at work in its hold. This is one of the few and partial triumphs of Nature, as she adapts herself anew to the wants of man in this industrial age.

Use of English capital.

As suggested heretofore, English capital frequently took up good opportunities in the colonies. In 1716, the exports of New England were said to be £300,000.[1] The well-informed De Foe states in 1727 that the trade of New England, of Barbadoes, and of Jamaica was carried on by "the stocks of English merchants."[2] Mr. Amory gave his attention to shipbuilding as soon as he settled in Boston, and with such effect that his correspondent, William Jones, of Bristol, Eng., in one year (1725) built fourteen sail of vessels.[3] Jones's business with Boston amounted to "many thousand pounds sterling annually." The profits were very large in the depreciated currency. In 1720 "European goods generally sell at 700 per cent. profit."[4] Amory recommends his correspondents to send over "modes," lutestrings, and tea, staples always in demand, or "English goods," with anchors, cordage, canvas, etc.; these shipments were then sold to pay for the hull.[5] They used, in outfitting, English, Irish, Russian, and "brown" duck. No place was better circumstanced than Boston,[6] yet new shipyards were being started in all the villages of the coast[7] and of the rivers. Vessels were built cheap or of

[1] *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, v. 116.

[2] De Foe, *Eng. Tradesman*, Oxford ed., xviii. 79.

[3] *Amory MS. Letters*, July 16, 1725. [4] *Amory MS. Letters.*

[5] *Bos. News Letter*, Nov. 2, 1738.

[6] Faneuil reported 43 sail building in the year 1736, at one time, in Boston. *Letter Book*, Oct. 26, 1736. And in 1741, 164 were on the stocks at one time.

[7] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 191; for N. Hamp., *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 595; Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 484; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 304; *R. I. H. Tracts*, iii. 65; Willis, *Portland*, p. 454; Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 569; *Newport H. Mag.*, ii. 243.

the best grades, "as you will for conveniency of passengers;" prices ranged from £3 to £5 per ton,[1] according to quality, in 1721.

In the interior shipyards, the old practice of barter prevailed, as it did in the seventeenth century. I cite a contract[2] made in Newburyport in 1741, which illustrates both this practice and the depreciation of the currency.

Prices of vessels must be noted. When they put one at auction, they cried her "by inch of candle."[3] Prices.
In 1714 one third of a fishing vessel £19, ½ a shallop £15, ½ an open sloop £20. In 1722 "Scooner Prudent Abigail £180, Do Sea Flower £83, Do Willing Mind £50."[4] Schooners came into use rapidly; one man in 1734 had six. In 1719[5] pink Bacchus, sold for goods, was expected to yield in paper £1,500. In 1721[6] William Clarke leaves $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the brig Union, valued at £43.15. Sloop Africa, probably a castaway, sells in 1723[7] for £555. George Deane's $\frac{5}{12}$ of sloop William, at sea, was sold for £45 in 1728.[8] Captain James Blin devises in Boston, 1731,[9] the sloop Mary, at £450, the schooner "Endeaver" at £280. The very small craft used in the seventeenth century are being displaced

[1] *Amory Letters*, July 31, 1721.

[2] Smith, *Hist. Newburyport*, p. 72. "Contract by Saml. Moggandge of N. with Cummings and Harris do. to build a vessel, C. & H. to find all the iron-work, nails, pitch, tar, turp. & oakium. C. & H. to pay £300 in Cash, £300 by orders on good shops in Bos.; two thirds money; four hundred pds. by orders up the river for timr. & plank, ten bbls. flour, 50 pds. weight of loaf sugar, one Bagg of cotton wool, one hund. bushels of corn in the Spring; one hhd. of Rum, 100 weight of cheese; the remaining part to be drawn out of the said Cummings & Harris' shop: whole am't of price for vessel £3,000 lawful money" (Old Tenor).

[3] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 23, 1739.

[4] Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 253.

[5] *Amory Letters.*

[6] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxiv. 442.

[7] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 316, 320.

[8] *Essex Inst.*, xiii. 295.

[9] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxix. 241.

by the demands of an expanding commerce; for Mr. Amory notes in 1726 the scarcity of large vessels, as "small eat themselves out presently."[1] Reports conflict as to the maximum size of ships at this time. Governor Wentworth informed the Lords of Trade in 1724 that a ship of 1,000 tons and 70 guns was building in Massachusetts to carry prohibited timber to Spain or Portugal.[2] The round thousand may have been the loose exaggeration of a controversial pen, for in 1723 Captain James Sterling contracted to build at New London a ship of 700 tons. She was launched in 1725, and was claimed to be the largest American ship.[3]

Size of vessels.

Curious students in commerce, or in maritime law, should look into the case of the sloop Dolphin, Deschezeau master, in the Admiralty Court at Newport in 1738.[4] And "runaway" vessels, comet-like, flit about this piratical period;—advertisements by bereaved owners being quite common. In 1713 Drewry Ottley, merchant at St. Christopher's,[5] posts the sloop Charles and Rachel in this way. In 1730 the Connecticut-built sloop Endeavor, forty feet in keel, owned by Colonel George Lucas, of Antigua, was "supposed to be runaway with" on her voyage to St. Christopher's. The master, John Cades, errant mariner or nascent pirate, was a "well-looking man but snuffles much in his speech."[6]

If we could look into the living of these hardy mariners in their dingy cabins, it would be history indeed. Plainly, there was a democratic simplicity instituted which contrasted somewhat with the modified aristocratic movement characteristic of New England. As we saw in the curious institution of the quartermaster on a

Life of seamen.

[1] *Amory Letters*, 1726. [2] Chalmers, *Revolt A. C.*, ii. 34.
[3] Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 452; Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, 242.
[4] *Newport H. Mag.*, iii. 160–169; and *Faneuil Letters*, Oct. 26, 1738, MS., at N. E. Hist. and Gen. Soc.
[5] *Bos. News Let.*, May 18, 1713. [6] *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1730.

pirate vessel,[1] forecastle and cabin, if separated in fact, were closely related in principle. Not only did fishing crews join interest in the catch, but ordinary seamen had small privileges for their own freight,[2] which they ventured in the voyage and turned in trade. This diffusion of interest among common seamen affected sensibly the working of a vessel. There was a common feeling engendered between owner and sailor, which fostered the proper energy of the voyage. Robert Hale,[3] of Beverly, a commanding man in his time, large property owner, and adventurer in many operations, accounting with schooner Cupid in 1731, puts down "my wages £6 per month," [4] with the pilot's at £9. Wage for owner or seafarer was pledge as well as pay. In 1713 and 1714 seamen ranged from £2.2 to £2.15 per month, generally £2.10; mates got £3.5, captains, £4.10. In a picked crew of a Massachusetts sloop,[5] in 1730 to 1734, three men [6] obtained £3 per month each, the mate £4, the captain £6.[7]

These seamen paid sixpence per month from their small wages to the collectors of different ports for the use of Greenwich Hospital.[8] The sluggish, heavy hand of the home government was more than paternal; when put forth on the high seas, it was step-maternal. Impressment was a sore trial. Men-of-war, in 1741,[9] even took the skipper from his craft in the harbor of Boston, with register and the accounts of all his affairs in his pocket. Persons obtained certificates [10] from the governor of the Province exempting them from these calls of impressment, though on what grounds is not clear.

Contingent to the building of ships was the business of

[1] See above, p. 562. [2] *Essex Inst.*, i. 120. [3] Appendix B.
[4] *Robt. Hale MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc. [5] *Essex Inst.*, i. 121.
[6] Sometimes seamen advertised their wives when about to sail. *Bos. News. Let.*, Dec. 7, 1719.
[7] For detailed wages in 1721, see *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 177.
[8] *Ibid.*, lxiii. 468. [9] *Ibid.*, lxiv. 166. [10] *Ibid.*, lxiv. 173.

shipping masts for the royal navy. The transfer of the main centre of this important industry, under Colonel Westbrook, the royal agent, from Portsmouth, N. H., to Portland, then Falmouth, Me., in 1727,[1] marks a period in the forestry as well as the commerce of our region. It continued at Portland until the Revolution, and brought a great access of business there. The sale of timber outright[2] had become more profitable in that district than sawing it into lumber. The British government paid a premium of one pound per ton on masts, yards, and bowsprits. The masts were not to exceed 36 inches diameter at the butt, and were to measure as many yards in length as inches in diameter. Ships for this exclusive transportation, of about 400 tons, with crews averaging 25 men, carried 45 to 50 masts.

The mast fleet and masts.

Whenever war was anticipated, ships were ordered to Falmouth, that they might be convoyed across the Atlantic under the protection of the mast fleet.[3]

The calls for heavy timber pushed the pioneer axes up the Connecticut River as soon as the Indians were quiet enough to permit their peaceful and settled use. Logs for boards came down to Hadley[4] at an early and unknown date. Timber proper was floated down about 1726. In 1732 the townspeople assembled to see twenty-five masts float over and down Enfield Falls. In 1733 a company of Connecticut and New Hampshire residents had expended £1,200 in cutting masts for a Boston contractor to the king. This was on the upper Connecticut; in the colony[5] proper, attempts to collect the royal masts were made, without results apparently.

The whole colonial business in royal masts is an inter-

[1] Willis, *Portland*, pp. 453, 454,
[2] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 302.
[3] *Amory MS. Letters*, Feb. 21, 1727.
[4] Judd, pp. 303, 304.
[5] *Conn. Arch., Trade and Mar. Aff.*, i. 1736.

esting series of episodes [1] in the political regulation and in the evolution of the final autonomy of the New England States. The king's right, proprietary and popular rights, recurred and clashed as the poor officials tried to assert sovereignty technically just, but running counter to the popular desire. Instances of positive violation of law, and of opposition to the provincial crown officers,[2] are not rare. The broad arrow of sovereignty had been cut on the superior trees as early as 1688. Massachusetts, about 1720, claimed that, though by the charter these great trees (24 inches and upward), — not private property at its date, — belonged to the king, yet, once felled, the trunks became the possession of the landowner. Speaker Cooke went further, claiming all Maine under proprietary right bought by Massachusetts of Gorges. The crown lawyers in England advised that the king could hold the great trees, excepting those on lands "granted private persons before the charter of 4 Car. I. was reversed." Moreover, bodies politic (towns) were admitted as private persons.

Number of vessels.

The number of vessels afloat, the amount of commerce carried on, in those days of meagre reports and incomplete figures, cannot be ascertained positively. The figures given are mere pointers to indicate the movement of trade, rather than its quantity. In 1714 the clearances from Boston [3] were put at 1,247 vessels, or 415 per year (*sic.*); from Salem 232 vessels, or 77 per year. Another statement puts the clearances from Boston at 24,000 tons per year in 1719.[4] The Board of Trade reports [5] for 1721 state that Massachusetts launched annually 140 to 160 vessels averaging 40 tons, and owned about 190 vessels with a tonnage of 8,000. In 1730 the

[1] Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 394, 411, 462; Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 27; Barry, *Mass.*, ii. 109.

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 138.

[3] *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 618.

[4] Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 429.

[5] *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 598.

same authority had Connecticut registered for 42 sail, ranging from 10 to 60 tons. A stray statement[1] records that Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, from March 25, 1735, to March 23, 1736, entered 961 vessels and cleared 860.

Changes in religious expression.

I have said that our present period embodied the slack calm of skepticism in contrast with the stormy, dogmatic discussions, the high religious feeling, of the seventeenth century. If we compare the ship letters or captain's instructions of John Hull, the mint-master, with the floating documents instructing voyages in this period, we see how the social and intellectual spirit of the time changes the attitude of men's minds and colors their expression, though their motives are human still. Hull besought each captain to pray and not to swear, to observe Sabbaths, as if he feared that the reproving angel would send foul blasts and wreck his dear property at any moment when his mariners should cease to watch and pray. The cooler merchant of the eighteenth century enjoins his agent to take "good opportunity of wind & weather,"[2] and to make "the best of your way." They carried coopers on board to turn the lumber of staves into the utensil of casks. "Imploy your Coopers Diligently in making Casks for your Molasses which you purchase for me, make what Despatch you can," said worthy Samuel Browne to discreet Master John Touzell, in the sloop Endeavor, from Salem for the West Indies, in 1727. Diligence and despatch were the best piety. "Take Care that yourself Mate & Seamen Pay their Proportion of the charge of Permition to Trade at the French Islands, for it is Butt reasonable that they should Pay their Part who Reap Equall advantage with me according to their Parts, and Suffer nothing to be brought in the Vessel more than their Privileidge, without Paying freight."[3]

[1] *Histoire et Commerce Cols. Ang.*, p. 134.

[2] *Essex Inst.*, i. 66.

[3] *Essex Inst.*, i. 67.

Merchant Browne and trader Hull read from the same Bible, and doubtless were equally good fathers of well-bred families; nevertheless their mental horizon differed. The supernatural shiver of the old century had gone out, the "Butt reasonable" of the new had come in.

Touzell was a trusted officer, and the next year took a "Brigantine Endeavor of sixty tons plantation built," with cargo of "Scale fish middling Cod and merchantable Cod" to Bilboa, Spain. Thence he was to freight for Lisbon or Cadiz, thence for salt for New England; or he could freight from Lisbon or Cadiz to Ireland, Holland, or England, then go to the "Isle of May" for salt; or he could sell the vessel for £450 or £500, if obtainable.[1] In that period New Englanders especially doubted not that such captains were the best agents of owners for managing the cargo and voyage;[2] Europeans mooted the drawbacks and advantages of the alternative consignment to local business correspondents.[3] We see, from Browne's care in making officers and crews pay their proportion of port charges and expenses, that the enlisting of the mariner's private interest in the success of the whole voyage, through these freighting privileges, affected materially all their commercial schemes. Sometimes the owners, disputing with these powerful skippers, frequently part owners, had recourse to the courts to adjust their differences. The case of the sloop Recruit, in 1744, to which I shall refer in another connection, is an instance. The owners of three quarters of vessel and cargo sued Henry Taggert, master and owner of one quarter part.[4]

Method of voyages.

Next to fish and vessels, the most important export in this period was timber. Parliament freed[5] the colonial export of wood and lumber in 1721.

Timber.

[1] *Essex Inst.*, i. 86.
[2] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iv. 848.
[3] *Commerce de L'Amerique*, i. 272.
[4] *Newport H. Mag.*, iii. 260.
[5] Bancroft, *U. S.*, ii. 241.

Staves and other manufactures of wood were moving constantly. The demand for heavy timber, especially from Portugal and Spain, was sufficient to stop much board-sawing, and send out the solid trunks. The crown officials complained[1] often that the king's enemies received the naval stores, prohibited and destined by law for England. Benning Wentworth,[2] a very prominent merchant of Portsmouth, N. H., had large contracts, about 1739, with an agent at the court of Spain for oak timber. Wentworth borrowed heavily in London while cutting his timber. Meanwhile the contractor at Cadiz lost the royal favor, and the new official refused to pay for Wentworth's cargoes. Royal courts are slippery and treacherous markets, and our speculator was forced to the verge of bankruptcy by the uncertain Spaniards.

Irish imports.

Ireland was a considerable market, taking rum and lumber;[3] indeed, two sloops are noted at once bound there with barrel staves in 1719.[4] Since the great agricultural development of the United States, we wonder that any one of our States ever drew the fruits of the earth from across the seas. But this fact shows the relative economical development and power of eighteenth century New England. Ireland and Gibraltar were quite as near, commercially, as Pennsylvania and Virginia. Irish duck, and linen of the Azores, were cheaper than our domestic manufactures. Irish beef comes often at 50*s.* per bbl. in 1715, 40*s.* in 1716, with butter at 5*d.*[5] Butter was a frequent import, and cheese came from England; Cheshire almost constantly, Gloucestershire[6] sometimes. Rhode Island cheese went from the rich Newport and Narragansett pastures to Boston; other domestic cheese is hardly noticed.

[1] *N. H. Prov. P.*, iv. 874. [2] Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 182.
[3] *Amory Letters, MS.*, 1722; and see Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 306.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, viii. 262.
[5] *Bos. News Let.*, Oct. 24, 1715; Oct. 8, 1716; April 25, 1720; May 23, 1734. [6] *Bos. News Let.*, Nov. 12, 1742.

Portsmouth, or Piscataqua, N. H., was a port of consequence. A large portion of the wine consumed in our colonies came from the Western Islands, and they maintained a steady intercourse with Portsmouth. Mr. Amory wrote, while residing at the Azores, "our wines do well there, sometimes linen cloth." [1]

Growth of Newport.

Exaggerated statements have been made concerning the relative commercial importance of Newport in the middle half of the eighteenth century. She did not attain all that has been claimed for her, but the progress made from the Peace of Utrecht to the American Revolution was most remarkable. If her development had not been rudely interrupted by the British occupation, we can hardly conceive what her commercial rank would have been among our Northern cities. The small fleet of 1713 grew to 120 sail owned at Newport in 1741.[2] But it was the activity of her commerce, rather than her property in ships, which gave Newport her commercial advantage at this time. By 1734 her merchants imported so much from England direct that dependence on Boston for foreign supplies almost ceased.[3] Governor Ward reported that they paid for these goods in "ships of our own building," logwood from Honduras, and bills of exchange taken from West India planters in payment for cargoes sent there. As we have seen in the account of the slave-trade, Newport employed Boston capital commercially, just as Boston used that of English correspondents. The Wantons [4] were shipbuilders first, then merchants in the West India trade, where Newport gradually led. Malbone, Channing, Brenton, Vernon, Ayrault, Collins, are but few of the long list of names prominent in the busy port.

Partridge, the agent of Rhode Island in London, led the colonies in their vain opposition to the British "Mo-

[1] *Letter Book*, Nov. 8, 1713.
[2] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 12.
[3] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 13.
[4] *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, iii. 65.

lasses Act" in 1740.[1] Imposed six years before, it laid a heavy tax on West India products imported into our colonies from foreign countries, especially the French Islands. Rhode Island protested that she must have those products to reimburse herself for her own produce sent there, and thus enable the purchase of British goods. Newport distilled rum largely, and interfered with the trade between the British sugar islands and home. Great Britain could not then see that the final economic advantage would be hers, after the products were exchanged back and forth, and the resulting trade went to her, as the richest market. Rum-distilling and negro importation gave more than their direct profits to Newport, great as these were. They gave a tremendous impulse to more legitimate industry and commerce, and compelled the exchange to follow in the wake of "rum vessel" and slaver.

The Molasses Act.

The commerce of Providence developed slowly until after the Revolution. As early as 1740, Stephen Hopkins, residing there, and afterwards famous in Revolutionary annals, was said to be concerned in several vessels with Godfrey Malbone, of Newport.[2] Hopkins had three sons and four nephews, all captains of vessels.

I have mentioned the interesting relations of master of vessel with owner or shipper, as a managing agent. In our changed conditions of commerce, we can hardly conceive of the complex trading conducted by these petty craft, which circulated products from one section of coast to another. The sloop Recruit,[3] for example, loads at Newport in 1744 with bread, flour, Indian corn, sugar, molasses, salt, rum, tar, pipe-staves. This cargo looks very heterogeneous at first glance, but it was nicely assorted for its varied and variable destina-

Complex trading voyages.

[1] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 124.

[2] Foster's *Life of Hopkins, R. I. Hist. Tracts.*

[3] *Newport H. Mag.*, iii. 260.

tion. Newport was an active mart, a producing or exchanging port for most of these articles. It made rum; took molasses, sugar, and salt from the West Indies, flour from New York, corn and pipe-staves from Narragansett, and tar from North Carolina. The Recruit went to Newfoundland first, where she exchanged her provisions and tar with the fishing fleet for "refuse" fish, which the island slaves of the tropics ate, while the Catholics of Southern Europe had the better grades for fast days. She made her first southern port at Barbadoes, thence Surinam, and in succession Nevis, St. Christopher's, St. Eustatius, thence Kingston, Jamaica, Darker's Bay (?), Savannah-la-mer, Kingston again, Savannah-la-mer again, thence Montecho Bay, all on the Island of Jamaica, Kingston again, thence home to Newport, with the molasses and other products which cargo and profits of the voyage returned. This was not the fancied course of any Ulysses, but the actual wanderings of Captain Henry Taggert, as recorded in a court of law. A glance at the course reveals the great amount of trading, exchanging, and making of merchandise caused by the voyage.

A shipowner at Antigua[1] sends to Boston salt, sugar, cotton, small quantity of rum, large quantity of molasses, lime juice, indigo, lignum vitæ, cordage. He directs his captain to bring back codfish, mackerel, herrings, salmon, sturgeon, beef, tallow, oysters, train oil, oats, horses. It was estimated in 1741 that the trade between Barbadoes (meaning all the West India ports probably) and New England amounted to £100,000 per annum; and that the traffic between Old and New England amounted to the same sum.[2]

Naval stores of all kinds were a good article of export.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 288–291. See, also, *Ibid.*, lxiii. 294. A little tobacco went from Connecticut to the West Indies. Stiles, *Windsor, Suppl.*, p. 15.

[2] Oldmixon, *Br. Empire in Am.*, i. 234.

There was an excess of turpentine about 1722. From June to December 1st in that year, Boston shipped 3,312 bbls.[1] Mr. Amory, writing June 17th, states that he is about adding 120 feet to his wharf, then 70 feet, at the "South end," and where his distillery was located. He wished to place a distillery "for rosin" on the new wharf, but could "see no way of disposing of the oil of turpentine."[2] He began the business in 1724.

Naval stores and wines.

The wines of the Azores and Canaries were consumed constantly in New England, and furnished the motive for an active commerce with those islands, sometimes called the "Wine Islands." It was a convenient stopping place for the vessels engaged in the larger trade of Portugal and Spain. Choice Madeira was at £18 per pipe in 1718.[3] In 1720 Fayal was at £20. Mr. Amory quotes at £15 "good payment" in 1721; in 1722 he sold Terceira wine at £15, and had "old racked wine" for which he expected £25. Later in the same year there was an absolute scarcity of Madeira and Fayal; the latter even would bring £30 per pipe "readily."[4] In 1723 the price of Madeira was £19; in 1725 it had risen again to £30. In 1727 Fayal was much poorer in quality, and sold at £14 to £15; while Madeira brought £26 to £28.

An interesting feature of this period is in the beginning of marine insurance, which has so changed the course of maritime adventure, and has given such stability to the extended operations of commerce. The pioneer in this business was Joseph Marion, notary public, who opened an office north of the court-house, near the head of King Street, Boston, in 1724. In 1745 he advertises[5] that it is "still held" by him for effecting insurance, loans on vessels, etc, "affairs of merchandise as well as other clerkship." He was a broker or agent,

Marine insurance.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 304.
[2] *Amory Letters*, 1722.
[3] *Bos. News Letter*, August 18, 1718.
[4] *Amory MS. Letters.*
[5] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 9, 1745; *Bos. News Letter*, Dec. 26, 1745.

obtaining for the shipper a guaranty of several persons, who each underwrote a particular sum, and thus became the underwriter of that portion of the risk. The development of the modern corporation, acting for itself and assuming the whole risk, was gradual. Marion failed in the first essay of that kind. He started the "Sun Fire Office" in 1724, without success.[1] English insurance stocks were quoted in Boston, with South Sea stock, India bonds, and other securities. We have Royal Exchange Insurance at £4.6, and London do. at £6.3.8 in 1724.[2] The rates of insurance varied with the chances of war, privateers, or pirates. The lowest rate apparently to the West Indies was 4 per cent.;[3] and 20 per cent. obtained at times.[4] I append a memorandum of charges in 1739.[5] And we may observe their method of appraising damages on goods injured at sea.[6] Mr. Amory's rule was to ship

[1] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, iv. 179. [2] *Bos. Gazette*, March 30, 1724.
[3] *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iv. 848. [4] See above, p. 460.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 219., 1740–1741 : —
Messrs. Joshua and Isaac Winslow their accounts currents.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
To £400 insured on the Leghorn Galley and Company .	33	6	10
To cost insurance and charges on 1 case goods per the Milk River	131	18	8
To £825 insured on the Leghorn Galley at 5.5 per cent.	43	8	6
To £250 insured per Success, Snelling	10	4	6

[6] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 269, 277, 1719.
Some goods on board the Ship Patience, from London to Boston, being damaged, the captain asks the government officials to examine them, and make an estimate as to how badly they are damaged.

The following is their estimate : —	£	s.	d.
On one bale of Garlix, they being stained, mill-dewed and some rotten the damages amount to	45	8	6
On four casks of shot, two of them broken and all with their heads out, the damages amount to		30	
On two bales of broadcloth the damages amount to . .	12	4	
On a trunk of gloves the damage amount to	1	7	
Total	60	9	6

not more than £500 in one bottom. When he heard of the pirate Low near one of his vessels, he insured £300 on the risk.

Importance of domestic trade.

Foreign commerce, — ship, galleon, liner, mighty craft crossing wide seas, carrying and bringing rare products, strange wares, perfumed and spicy, — this large movement of trade attracts the notice of annalists in all ages. Though these greater exchanges stimulate trade and encourage enterprise immensely, it is not in themselves or through their own amount and weight that they contribute most to a nation's welfare. Big trade fosters the little; it is the immense volume of petty domestic exchanges, initiated and impelled by the foreign movement, which sends prosperity to all the people and into every district. Mr. Amory, informing a distant correspondent of the course of Boston market and relative prices, says, in explanation of differing quotations, "Captain Atkinson sells for truck; which with his great business does well." Here was the old barter of the meagre seventeenth century, still justifying itself in the vastly greater volume of eighteenth century traffic, where all the rich wares of all countries crowded the wharves and flowed freely through the streets of Boston. Amory was a thoroughly instructed merchant, trained in the methods of London and other great ports. Yet the swapping of "truck" did not inspire him with contempt. He saw in it the means of myriad exchanges, reaching out and enriching all classes of people. His own words are, "I find an inland trade the securest and best."[1]

Oakum industry.

We get an occasional glimpse of this barter and retail trade, though the records preserved are sparse and scanty. In 1733 and 1734, John Fayerweather[2] dealt at Boston in shipstores and other goods associated with shipping and the fisheries. He puts junk

[1] *Amory Letters, MS.*, 1720.

[2] See *Waste Book* in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Soc.

or "ocum stuff" into the hands of Abijah Adams, — a middleman, — who distributes it to parties to be picked into oakum; the price for the service is generally 16*s.* per cwt., sometimes 20*s.* per cwt. William Owen buys the oakum apparently at about 56*s.* per cwt. for "black," and 60*s.* for "white," for he gives a note for £27.7 to Fayerweather, who charges it over to Adams to "discount." These small notes of hand play a great part in the traffic of the time in these retail transactions, and in the operations of the larger merchants as well. Fayerweather gives out "my note for ½ mony ½ goods £6.10" to another party. He gives to Adams in another instance "my note on Bill & Sewall for ½ mony ½ goods on a shop £9.6." This was a draft for money or an order for goods. He receives from Captain Jos. Allen note for £99.02.6 for 61 quintals fish at 32*s.* 6*d.*, and charges it over to John Wheelwright. Sundry entries cover rum, "Rusha" duck, molasses, Spanish iron, and ambergris at 80*s.* per pound. In 1733 there appears eighty ounces of silver at 21*s.* 6*d.* He charges, "for the laying in of a horse on board ship, £5.14." He pays to a New London skipper 2*s.* 8*d.* for a letter received from Joseph Thompson, of New Haven; and 1*s.* 2*d.* is paid for a letter from Prudence Island by post. Among the curious uses of credit, postage was charged at the general office, and parties were warned by advertisement[1] each quarter to settle, or their privilege would be cut off.

Coasting trade.

A large proportion of this traffic, petty in detail, but large in resulting whole, was conducted by small coasting craft,[2] ranging from the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Philadelphia, and New York, along the shores of New England to Falmouth or Portland, in Maine. In 1725 the small district of New Hampshire

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, June 7, 1714.

[2] See Sewall's account of a voyage from New London to Boston, 5 *M. H. C.*, vi. 439.

alone reported its traffic with Boston in coasting sloops at £5,000 per annum.[1] It received "English goods," and it sent in payment fish and timber. The Maine vessels, as early as 1739,[2] stretched away to the farther north, even carrying cattle to Montreal. Their trade at Canso was the most profitable, and we shall see more of that district in Peter Faneuil's operations.

In 1721 or 1732, as variously stated,[3] an interesting commercial exchange began between New England and the Carolinas, which lasted through the century. It sheds light both upon the general development of coasting trade and upon the peculiar tendency of early New England enterprise to join capital and labor. Sometimes this junction was effected by a common interest, and sometimes by specialising the parts of an adventure in individual interests. In the winter, when the fishing craft, "very small sloops," had no work for vessel or men, the owners loaded them with salt, rum, sugar, or molasses for the Southern coasts. To these heavy staples they added a list of assorted articles, like iron and wooden ware, hats, caps, patterns of cloth for breeches, handkerchiefs, and stockings. One of these small cargoes aggregated £200. Neither master nor men received wages; instead, each had a privilege of freight out, and of bringing home his returns in Southern products. As no fish appears in the outward invoices, it is presumed that the men carried that article in their private ventures. Corn and pork were returned, but pitch and tar soon became the leading values. Mr. Amory[4] expects 1,200 bbls. from one correspondent in a season, and quotes a cargo at £721 from North Carolina. In 1726 he charters the sloop Adventure for that trade at £60 per month. He sends sixty

[1] *New Hamp. H. C.*, i. 229; and *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iv. 532.

[2] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 569.

[3] *Doc. N. York*, v. 609; Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 384.

[4] *MS. Letters*, 1727.

ewe sheep from Rhode Island to South Carolina, and surveying instruments, bought at eleven guineas, to North Carolina. In 1721 his Charleston correspondent, Mr. Middleton, reports to him a sale of sixteen pieces of "Negro Cloth." He sends furniture and billiard-tables to these Southern ports. Sole leather was one of the Carolina exports.[1]

Quantities, in these periods, are poor indicators, but a list is given of the importations of provisions at the port of Boston in one week, May 8–14, 1741.[2] It consists of 7,700 bu. wheat, 6,650 bu. Indian corn, 200 bu. peas, 180 bu. beans, 534 bbls. flour, 291 bbls. beef, 278 bbls. pork, 79 bbls. rice.

British interference with coasters.

The teasing, paternal government in England tried at various times to control this nimble colonial coasting commerce, with but little effect. In 1724 the Admiralty Court of Boston advertised[3] that all coasters must deliver to the naval officer of the respective ports a "true invoice" of cargo, according to the act 15 Charles II., etc.; *i. e.* the Navigation Acts. In 1741 the advertisement[4] recites — with the usual wail of complaint — that "many coasters come into and depart this port without entering," etc., and that in future they shall be prosecuted, etc. Like all the colonial regulations, the administration was irregular and uncertain. Many vessels did enter and received certificates from the proper authorities.[5]

Another branch of the paternal administration affected the coasting trade more seriously. The impressment of seamen, as noticed above,[6] was a harsh use of the royal prerogative. The transportation along the coast was so important in every-day living that, when interfered with,

[1] *Bos. Gazette*, April 13, 1724.
[2] *Bos. News Letter*, May 14, 1741.
[3] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1724.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1741.
[5] See *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 62.
[6] See above, p. 577.

the whole community felt the shock. "Many coasters trading with Boston were discouraged from coming hither or going thence." Captains of men-of-war, in several instances, were obliged both to release men already seized, and to promise forbearance to all coasters in future.[1]

Light-house and pilots.

Coasters were exempted from the port charge of powder money.[2] The light-house,[3] built for the harbor of Boston in 1716, commuted its fees for coasters, collecting two shillings each at their clearing out; fishing vessels, wood-sloops, etc., paid five shillings each per year; foreign-bound vessels paid one penny per ton, either inward or outward. The keeper of the light-house became the pilot by natural selection. But in 1739 the business of piloting in the richly-laden ocean-borne craft had become important enough to engender competition. "Other men would go way out to sea," and cut off the advances of Robert Balls, who was obliged to watch his lamps as well as breast the seas. Accordingly, Robert begged recognition of the General Court, and was appointed exclusively "the pilot of Boston Harbor."[4] He was to maintain boats with insignia not to be counterfeited, "broad blue vanes" for the bay, and "broad red vanes" for the harbor, etc. His fee was to be £3 for a hull of 140 to 250 tons, £6 to £10 for 250 to 350 tons, inward or outward.

Political consequences.

The coasting trade, knitting together the several communities in different colonies with gossamer webs stronger than hooks of steel, was the first power to control the bungling legislators of the time, and to keep them from constraining and narrowing the growing stream of economic intercourse. This intimate intercourse and exchange finally developed the American colonies into states, and bound them in imperial bonds. It

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, April 11, 1745; Aug. 29, 1745.

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 424.

[3] *Bos. News Letter*, Sept. 17, 1716.

[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 517.

was not without interruption that this process went on. A whole treatise might be written on the various acts restraining trade and intercourse between colonial governments, but the life of the people made way for itself and grew while the law-makers paltered. The tide of economic effort was too strong to be controlled by petty political restrictions.

Connecticut regulates exports.

In 1714 Connecticut thought she would export her own pipe-staves, and laid a tax of 20*s.* per thousand on barrel and 30*s.* on hogshead staves.[1] Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, as well as other colonies, must pay these export taxes before sending the products to foreign ports, as they had done. Then the same colonies were building vessels or exporting plank and timber; hence agricultural Connecticut coveted these good things, and in 1715 taxed the outgoing timber 10*s.* per ton, the plank 5*s.* per hundred feet, the boards 3*s.* per hundred feet. These acts were administered stringently[2] for a time. In 1717 she revised her impost of 12*s.* 6*d.* per £100 on all goods not belonging to her own inhabitants, and made it more effective.[3]

The excise on liquors touched foreign commerce, and was constantly changing in all the colonies.[4] Rhode Island was interested largely in sugar and the traffic growing out of it; therefore she laid a duty on sugar manufactured in the "neighboring governments" in 1731.[5] New Hampshire was so incensed by an act of the Massachusetts General Court imposing double duties, double lighthouse fees, and discriminating against her, that she retaliated in 1721.[6]

[1] *Conn. C. R.*, 1714, p. 435.

[2] *Conn. Arch., Trade & Mar. Aff.*, i. 76.

[3] *Conn. Col. Rec.*, 1717, p. 23.

[4] *N. H. Prov. P.*, iii. 819, 827; iv. 368; *Bos. News Letter*, Dec. 8, 1737; *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 485.

[5] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 454.

[6] *N. H. Prov. P.*, iii. 827.

Trade cannot be controlled.

These meddling restrictions occurred especially in the trade supplying food and provisions. In husbanding the necessaries of life, the antique lawmaker seemed to find a reasonable ground for artificial interference and impossible restrictions. Man had not discovered that commerce is a better provider than the shrewdest political wiseacre or the most active official. In 1713 Connecticut and Rhode Island both attempted to shut in their grain.[1] In Massachusetts the matter assumed serious proportions, and opened all the questions — political, economic, and social — involved in such municipal administration. Sewall records, May 20th,[2] a riot caused by 200 people or more, who broke into Arthur Mason's warehouse on the Common at nighttime, thinking to find corn. They wounded the lieutenant governor and another, cried "Whalebone." The immediate cause of the riot was in Belcher's sending out grain to Curaçoa in the time of scarcity. The poor selectmen begged the merchant to desist. Captain Belcher replied, "The hardest fend off! If they stop'd his vessel, he would hinder the coming in of three times as much." The expression is interesting, and marks precisely the passage from a sentimental notion into an economic conviction. Sometimes the exigencies of war would interfere with the movement of provisions.[3]

The cod overcomes France.

The surrender of Acadia, to be known thenceforth as Nova Scotia, by France to England, under the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, has been considered the beginning of the decline of France in this hemisphere. It was the cod, or dun, or stock fish, inhabiting and loving the waters of these coasts, which worked the destruction of the French occupation, built up with such labor and weary pains by the great Louis. Other causes combined to excite and impel both the old

[1] *Conn. C. R.* 1706, p. 417; *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 159.
[2] 5 *Mass. H. C.*, vi. 384. [3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 41.

and new Britain against their Gallic foes transplanted to these new districts. But the immediate, active, ever-ready cause of trouble between Latin and Saxon, was the knobheaded, richly fat, and succulent codfish. Many finny fellows have finer tissues and more exquisite flavors; few survive time, endure salt, and serve common daily use, as well as the cod. The economic proof is in the fact stated in 1741.[1] A vessel of 100 tons with twenty men fishing on the Banks, then voyaging to Portugal, Spain, or Italy, expended £1,000. Her receipts, if favorable, would be £3,000, showing a profit of 200 per cent.

At first the Americans did not fully reap the expected advantages of the treaty. The best fisheries were along the coast, from Cape Sable to the Gut of Canso. The country was inhabited by Indians, who sympathised fully with the French. The most highly civilised of all the European races fraternised most completely with the North American natives. Whatever Frenchman or half-breed willed, the Indian did. Consequently, English or colonial vessels hardly dared venture upon the coasts to cure their fish, and in 1721[2] the French held a practical monopoly of the best fisheries. Clandestine trade sprang up between the New England ports and Cape Breton; vessels carried up lumber, provisions, and tobacco, and brought back wine, brandy, linens, silks, as well as fish. Thus the movement of fish stimulated all trade.[3] It was so popular that the collector of customs at Salem[4] vainly tried to induce the legislature to stop it.

A remarkable change in the course of the fishing industry was effected after the New Englanders had established themselves fairly in the more northern fisheries. In some way they propitiated the Indians, or swarmed so thickly that they bore down native opposi-

Change in the fisheries.

[1] Oldmixon, *British Emp. in America*, i. 19.

[2] *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 593, 594. [3] Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 389.

[4] Felt, ii. 254.

tion. About 1727 Peter Faneuil found his best market for dealing in fish at Canso. In 1744 the active Yankees had so allied themselves with the friend of their ancestors, the cod, that the French could buy fish at Canso cheaper than they could cure them for themselves at Cape Breton.[1] Yet the French had their prey so near and so abundant that they dallied not with hook or line, but seized them with a "Kind of Grapling."[2] So the story ran. The fishing business was prosecuted at all the eastern and northeastern ports. Gloucester alone had seventy vessels engaged in 1741,[3] and Marblehead competed with Canso.[4] The Province of New Hampshire employed 100 vessels about 1725.[5] It was the main business generally in places where it established itself. When New Hampshire laid an embargo on all outward-bound vessels in 1717, she excepted the fishermen.[6]

Mackerel and herring were sent to the West Indies[7] sometimes, but their chief use was for bait. In the early spring the young fry were taken and advertised by the barrel in Boston for that purpose.[8] The mackerel run into Massachusetts Bay both in the spring and the autumn.[9] Salmon, the finny duke, compared poorly with Cod, the democrat, in those days. A few families on the Connecticut salted and preserved him for common food in the early part of the century. The price was less than one penny per pound. By 1729 petitions began for salmon wears in Hampshire ;[10] this shows the fish was worth catching.

[1] Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 193.
[2] Douglas, *Summary*, i. 6.
[3] Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 381.
[4] P. Faneuil, *Letter Book*, July 15, 1737, at N. E. H. and Gen. Soc.
[5] *Doc. N. York*, v. 595.
[6] *N. H. Prov. P.*, ii. 701.
[7] *Bos. News Let.*, Dec. 18, 1735.
[8] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 29, 1730 ; *New Eng. Weekly Jour.*, Feb. 19, 1728.
[9] See Deane's *Scituate*, p. 25, for habits of the mackerel at different periods.
[10] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 314.

The first sale of shad recorded in Northampton, Mass., was in 1733; only a halfpenny in good money was paid for one fish. Scales were not necessary in adjusting these values. Of all the changes between old-time and new-time palates none is more wonderful than the relative appreciation of this delicious fish. Plump, juicy, savory, and luscious on the breakfast platter, he excites an appetite in the epicure, and gratifies the hunger of hardy laborer on all the Atlantic shores, from his spring coming to his summer going in his "last run." Nothing illustrates better the economic use of food as it is enforced by the conditions of civilisation changing with the centuries. Now, people both rich and poor value most — because they can afford to use — fresh, recent tissues of flesh and fish, succulent and tender nutriment, not staled by processes of cure and preservation. Then, society was obliged to use its forces in the good seasons of plenty, to save constantly and carefully against the wintry and barren times of scarcity. I have illustrated the principle in the changed values of pork and beef. It is even more striking in the employment of these royal fish, wasted then, economised now, and made the common food of laborers. Express trains, telegraphs, and telephones market all the shad the seas can yield, while thousands of men and millions of active capital save the remote salmon on the Pacific shores, then distribute him over the whole world. Invention in saving processes has helped the movement; it did not create it. Society in the eighteenth century, though desiring fish, had not capital enough to pay for the tin can.

Economy of fresh and salted fish.

Much thought in legislation and care in official action was devoted to the fishing industries. They were appreciated as some of the surest foundations of prosperity in the community, and worthy of the constant care of the state. The towns looked after the every-day business of locating "flakes," or open platforms

Curing of fish.

for curing the fish. Salem [1] in 1714 allowed these privileges on the shore to her own townsmen at 5*s.* per annum, while a non-resident must pay 20*s.* The General Court of Massachusetts policed the whole matter, and heeded the complaints coming occasionally from foreign markets, that fish were not properly cured, assorted, or packed. In 1723 a bill passed for "ye better cureing and culling Fish." [2] A bounty was offered for porpoises and the oil in 1739.[3]

Salt was a constant necessity in this business, and it formed one of the best return fares in vessels of the export trade. The supply came from Spain and Portugal largely,[4] though four vessels laden at the Tortugas are mentioned once in 1718.[5]

Privateering.

Any record of this important period in our New England commerce would be far from complete which should neglect privateering, and its relation to the course of general trade. We have separated the tangled skein of private war and piracy on the seas, making a positive break at 1713. Then the sudden settlement of the War of the Spanish Succession precipitated a swarm of discharged fighting sailors from the navies of the Old World into the ill-policed waters of the New. These men became outlawed pirates, different from the privateersman or developing pirate of earlier times. But a more gradual change should be indicated. In the beginning of the century, privateering proper was practiced, and it was a legitimate means of annoying an enemy used by all contestants. I cannot make a suitable history of private war upon the seas, — a matter of absorbing interest and a sufficient story in itself. Ample material exists for a special history of American privateering, its daring and endur-

[1] Felt, i. 195.
[2] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1855, p. 124.
[3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 552.
[4] *N. H. Prov. P.*, iv. 532.
[5] 5 *M. H. C.*, vii. 216.

ance, its wonderful exploits and occasional disaster, a romance of truth in a field all its own. I must touch this great topic here and there as a part of general commerce. Scattered facts, also, will be noted, as they may help a larger treatment of the especial matter.

Both the risks and the profits of commercial business were affected largely by the movement of these orthodox rovers. Established commerce, like that of Salem and Boston, suffered most, while new ports, like Rhode Island, received most benefit. The influx of merchandise so cheaply earned was very profitable, and doubtless all the New England ports gained by privateers, while France, Spain, or Holland lost. As soon as war opened with any of the continental powers, the New England docks bustled with busy outfitters, and the boldest venturers from every district mustered to the standard of the most lucky captain. Advertisements would read: "Capt. Peter Lawrence is going a privateering from Rhode Island in a good sloop about 60 Tuns, and any Gentlemen or Sailors that are disposed to go shall be kindly entertained." [1] This was in Boston, 1704. Two years earlier there had been sent out from Newport such a fleet that Bownas, an English Quaker [2] visiting there, reported the most of the able-bodied men "gone off on privateers." The exploits of the Quaker, William Wanton, were more than brilliant. In that year he brought in three French prizes.[3] Quakers both owned and sailed cruisers.

Rhode Island had been charged with irregularity in commissioning privateers, and in the proceedings for the condemnation of prizes, before admiralty courts were appointed regularly.[4] Much dispute appears among the officials. As William Ellery, of Newport, received a letter of marque about the same time from Prince George,

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, May 18, 1704. [2] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 9.
[3] Arnold's *Hist. R. I.*, ii. 9.
[4] *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 508-510, 537–540.

consort of the Queen, we may conclude the privateersmen had friends at court.[1] France and Spain suffered much, as our scattered reports indicate.[2] And they retaliated[3] as well; the reports would come, as from Antigua, "the privateers are very thick about the Islands."

Admiral Wager.

The New England privateer contests gave a distinguished officer of the royal navy his first opportunity. Charles Wager was the nephew of John Hull, a Newport merchant. He was with his uncle in one of his vessels, when she was threatened by a French or Spanish privateer. There is a well-attested tradition that Wager, only a lad but high-mettled, pursuaded the peaceful, non-resistant owner to retire to the cabin and give him control of the vessel. He mustered the crew — they were always armed — and handled them so bravely and skilfully that the attacking party was baffled. The old Quaker's anxiety prevailed over his decorum, and coming into the companion-way he stood taking snuff and watching the fight. As he was below the level of the combatants, he could well see the effect of the firing. Again the man prevailed over the Quaker, and he cried out, "Charles, if thee means to hit that man in a red jacket, thee had better raise thy piece a little." The attack was repulsed, and neither a small trading craft or a counting-house could hold such a gallant spirit. Through his friends, Wager obtained a post in the royal navy, ending his honorable career as Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, with a monument in Westminster Abbey. He had the sagacity to see that the common sailor in private war had an incentive of interest

[1] Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 84.

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 502; *Proc. M. H. S.* 1873, p. 423; 5 *M. H. C.*, vi. 37; *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 540, 547; iv. 57; Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 12.

[3] *Conn. C. R.*, 1712, p. 343; *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 234; Felt, *Salem*, ii. 216; *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 1147; v. 61, 469; vi. 243; *Bos. News Let.*, April 26, 1707; *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 561, 562.

which no navy gave to its men at that time. Accordingly he instituted the division of prize money,[1] which gave every man an interest in overcoming the prizes. The rich Spanish vessels taken at Porto Bello were first divided in this way.

These stirring times, poor in governing powers, rich in individual men, brought daring spirits to the surface, giving scope to their ambition and freedom to their higher nature. This partisan warfare suited the independent, self-containing spirit of the Rhode Islanders. There was reason for the success of the Rhode Island privateers, as well as for their numbers. Their merchants and sailors were more than enterprising; they were bold, resolute, and aggressive. While lacking the power of combination and political deference prevailing among Massachusetts citizens, they were independent and powerful wherever their individuality could make itself felt. Massachusetts, through the General Court, sometimes offered extraordinary inducements to vessels doing the work of privateers upon the enemy.[2] The Massachusetts preacher berated the fisher folk and men of Gloucester that they quaked in their beds when they might be manning their vessels and chasing the one French privateer that held the whole coast in terror. Sewall, when he paused in one of his Narragansett journeys at Bristol, heard of a French privateer in Vineyard Sound, but added that the Rhode Island men were after him.[3]

Rhode Island excels in privateering.

In the Spanish war of 1739 and the French war of 1744, the business of privateering, especially in Rhode Island,[4] attained large proportions. The partisan arms forged against France and Spain by the colonists were

[1] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 13.

[2] See "Prince of Orange," in *Bos. Eve. Post*, Feb. 22, 1742.

[3] 5 *M. H. C.*, vi. 194.

[4] See lists of vessels and captures in Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, pp. 44, 48.

turned against the mother country with terrible effect in the greater struggle of the Revolution. French and Spanish prisons had left deep scars in the memory of colonial privateersmen, but they retaliated upon property, if they did not treat persons with equal severity. In Simeon Potter, owner and commander of The Prince Charles of Lorraine, of Newport, the Spaniards found a rover as greedy for spoil as the old vikings, though not as cruel. In 1745[1] he ravaged 1,500 miles of territory on the Spanish Main, "visiting" churches and private dwellings. Ethics change with the seasons. Strangely as these exploits sound in our ears, the eighteenth century admiralty judge ruled that he had not violated civilised warfare, and the families of his crew sued the fierce privateer for their shares of the prize money.

Value of prizes.

The Massachusetts towns,[2] as well as Newport, fitted out privateers, which reaped rich harvests from the enemy's vessels. In 1741 a Rhode Island and a Massachusetts privateer went together against a Spanish wine vessel. A Massachusetts citizen testified, "it was only by luck that the Rhode Islander had taken the boat rather than the Boston vessel."[3] In 1740 Captain Hull, of Newport, took a prize of greater value "than all he had taken before;" each man's share was more than 1,000 pieces of 8.[4] A few weeks later the "Boston News Letter"[5] reported that Hull's exploits were so extraordinary, his owners "design to have his statue finely cut out of a block of marble to stand upon a handsome pedestal with each foot upon a Spaniard's neck."

The Admiralty records[6] teem with accounts of prizes and their condemnation. In 1744 the Spanish snow Lady de la Rosara, condemned with a cargo of 2,200 seroons of

[1] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 20.
[2] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 214.
[3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 122.
[4] *Bos. News Let.*, 1740, Feb. 7.
[5] *Bos. News Let.*, March 20, 1740.
[6] *R. I. Arch., MS.*

cocoa, 80 do. Jesuit bark, 4,600 pieces of 8, was a type of many captures. The Rhode Island court adjudged the captures made by its own citizens and those of other colonies. In 1745 The Dolphin, brigantine, of New York, 30 guns, with 100 men, commanded by Richard Langden, brought in the sloop Amity, commanded by Philip de Yonge, a Dutchman. It was attempted to free the prize on the score of the commander's nationality. He had thrown overboard his papers when the action was going against him. This in itself, according to the king's statutes in 1664 and 1672, was evidence sufficient to condemn a prize. The judge, Leonard Lockman, decided that vessel, cargo, and slaves belonged to French subjects, and was a lawful prize. The private property of De Yonge, some linen, holland, hats, cambric, gold frock-buckles, knee-buckles, and sleeve-buttons, and a bag of 500 pcs. of 8, was returned to him, lest the States of the United Netherlands be offended.[1]

The results were not always favorable. In 1745 Godfrey Malbone, the leading merchant of Newport, built two large privateers for cruising about the Spanish Main. He manned them with 400 men, and gave the command to Captains Cranston and Brewer.[2] The horoscope was cast, — in due custom, — and the forecastle fates either knew not their own mind, or warred against each other. The day of sailing fixed by the stars fell on Friday, and the ships sailed, seeking luck, on that unlucky day. They were never heard of more. Two hundred families in Newport were left each without a head, to mourn their losses.

Strange commerce.

Often an interesting story, important enough for a place in history, could be made from the adventures of a single vessel, using such records as have escaped the accidents of intervening years. The comet-like courses of these privateers, shooting across,

[1] *R. I. Arch., MS.* [2] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 18.

and entangling the lines of regular commerce, reveal many curious incidents, and reflect the true history of the time. Things which never would have seen light, or, seen, would have escaped notice and notoriety, were forced into full view by the revelations of prize courts.

Malbone's occasional losses were conspicuous, as we have seen; his gains and successes were much more striking. The Charming Betty, a privateer sloop, one half owned by him, had a romantic career. She was appraised at £2,000, Rhode Island currency, in 1744.[1] In 1740 she carried into Newport, among her prizes, the ship Oratavo, and the proceedings in condemnation[2] open a strange chapter in politico-commercial history. The Oratavo was loaded at Teneriffe ["Teneries"] with wine and fruit, the island being an alien possession, and traffic with English subjects forbidden during the Spanish war. She touched at Cape Cod, putting ashore one Hubbard with some wine and fruit. While she was hovering on the coast, waiting the issue of her agent's illegal trading, she was taken by The Charming Betty. The voyage was planned boldly and skilfully, with every kind of chicanery then known, to get the vessel through the weak nets of prohibition spread by the British crown. A great profit was expected in America; at £50 paper currency per pipe, Supercargo McCanick was instructed to sell, reserving at least fifty to sixty pipes for Barbadoes. One Lockhart gave the instructions for the voyage, having had advice from Boston "of my friend Mr. James Bowdoin that wines were rising there and like to be in high demand, and that notwithstanding our present rupture, as also the reported prohibition of commerce with Spain, we could easily procure admittance for this country wines under the name of Madera, *providing were put into pipes of that country.*"

Revelations of The Oratavo.

[1] *R. I. Arch., Admiralty, MS.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 1740, James Collingwood *v.* Oratavo.

Accordingly shifty Mr. Lockhart and his partners racked their wine into Madeira casks, and sent the vessel on this illicit though presumed easy course for Boston or for Rhode Island. But this scheme was only a small part of the preparation. A consul's certificate was obtained by some means at Teneriffe; in the words of Judge Auchmuty, at Newport, "what Still more Shocks me is that in this Treasonable Commerce, a Gentleman that once had y^e^ Honour and Trust of being his Majesty's Consul in Tenerise, Should be Engaged a partner with this Lockhart. . . . Certify . . . Corrupt and Bribe," etc. This truthful document was "only designed if the other should not take," to impose an entirely different tale upon his Majesty's loving subjects, informing them that "said wines are the produce of effects belonging to me and other Protestant British Subjects which with great hazard have been happily secured from the Barbarous Spanish reprizals." Under this second projected course "Captain Williamson must enter his Ship at Rhode Island under the name of the Providence, Capt. Patrick Mackenna, from Madera, according to your colourable clearance from thence."

It does not appear that any of the American merchants were implicated in the plan or execution of the voyage. A quarter cask of "Madera" was sent to be given to Captain Richard Malbone, collector at Rhode Island, but such gifts were not uncommon. "Ye may inquire for Capt. John Hull who if still there [Rhode Island] will bring you acquainted with" Messrs. Samuel Holmes, John Bennet, Thomas Richardson, and others. They were to advise, also, with Mr. Bowdoin in Boston.

The plan, though very sagacious, did not contemplate the irruption of a privateer seeking a prize, or ready for plunder. The defendants set up in the Admiralty Court that, admitting all facts, "Lockhart and Company are good Loyal Subjects" trying to get property out of an

enemy's country. If the plan was illegal, it was not carried into effect. Judge Auchmuty did not view it in that light; indeed, he charged that Lockhart, with his friends, was acting "a part, as by papers appears he acted before."

A loyal but friendly judge.

The judge doubtless crossed his stout thighs frequently beneath the splendid mahogany of the Malbones, and often enjoyed the hospitality of the Ayraults, Holmeses, and the rest, then equal to any cheer on the American continent. His charge testifies both the severity of judgment and the passion of patriotism. He condemns the prize for the benefit of the captors; sounding out, in the bulging rhetoric of the time, against the "most Shocking Scene of Disloyalty, Treachery and Corruption." He felt the cause "to be of as high Importance as can come in Judgment," and important enough to justify the great "Auditory" present. Whatever the shortcomings of Rhode Island might have been in subjecting herself to the maternal government of England, this crown official meant to glorify her in the eyes of the Newport community of 1740. He descanted on the sacrifices of the colony in equipping the war sloop Tartar, and on the energy of the merchants in dispatching privateers to annoy the enemies of the crown.

Whatever we may think of the morality or patriotism of Mr. Lockhart, he knew his business thoroughly. His memorandum [1] is worth studying, for it reveals accurately the course of commerce between the Western Islands, New England, Virginia, and the West Indies. In these poorly regulated times commerce went on, lawfully if it could, but they traded.

We leave the old privateers regretfully. They shot some bright threads of adventure through the dull webs of trade; they lighted the growing new commerce with an occasional gleam from the dying fires of chivalry.

[1] Appendix C.

CHAPTER XV.

PETER FANEUIL AND THE LAST GENERATION OF DEPENDENT COLONISTS.

1725–1742.

THE era of colonial commerce, the race of colonial merchants, closes properly with the career of Peter Faneuil. Louisburg was not taken when he died. In the assault on that stronghold, the colonies girded their infant loins against one of the matured giants of Europe. In that struggle they first learned how easy it was for a young and comparatively weak contestant on the ground to beat a strong enemy afar off. Between 1745 and 1775 the Revolution was gestating, and a new commerce gestated with it. Peter Faneuil, born in 1700, died in 1742, in the prime of his years. His outgoing corresponds nearly with this pivot of the siege of Louisburg. It is worth a few pages of detail to set forth his career, and to study his methods, the records of which we fortunately possess, though in fragmentary form. These broken fragments are sufficient to picture the whole way of commerce and trade while the colonies were accumulating that wealth which afforded force sufficient to challenge and to dare the power of England.

A new generation after Louisburg.

This forming process, this nation-building, went forward by means of institutions and of individuals. Both are important, and the origins of both deserve attention in the study of either economic or social history. Puritan New England and Cavalier Virginia have been much written about. Important as the Puritan-cavalier life

and the particular race-growth of these districts are, we begin to see that they are parts, and that they are not the whole, of the great story of American development. The local quarrels and constitutional struggles of England, transferring their disjoined members to these new lands, were great moving influences here: they were not the sole influences in projecting the race and the institutions of America. Parts of England did much indeed, but Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Protestant France, Germany, and Sweden conjoined in forming that racial tree, that enormous trunk, whose branches spread from Maine to California, with leaves spreading and flowering over Apalachian and Rocky Mountains alike.

English, but not wholly English.

The history of the Old World — though ancestral and important — beclouds the actual story of the vastly larger New. This fact most affects our conceptions of institutions, but my present purpose tends toward the treatment of individuals. We forget that the new nation drew its members from strong individuals coming from many and diverse communities. The abounding social soil of the New World germinated and sprouted the incipient or budding institutions of the Old, using for seeds and offshoots the strongest individuals of half a dozen races.

In blood and fibre, in breeding and hereditary training, Faneuil was a small epitome of this racial development, this cosmopolitan experience. His uncle Andrew, driven out in the Huguenot expulsion, married while in Holland, settled in Boston by 1691, or earlier. Peter's father settled in Narragansett at first, but removing to New Rochelle, N. Y., our subject, the eldest son, was born there in 1700. Summoned to Boston, he inherited, as executor and residuary legatee, the large estate of his vigorous and enterprising uncle in 173$\frac{7}{8}$. We do not know the exact date of his coming, but he was a young man. He took up his uncle's methods,

Faneuil's ancestry.

and conducted the business for some years before he inherited it.

He built Faneuil Hall in 1742. It was fitting that this institutional pile should have been built by a Franco-American cradled among the Knickerbockers, settling finally into a solid citizen of the three-hilled town, that centre of New England life, that source of so many ideas prevailing in American history.

Some of the old Faneuil account books are well preserved,[1] and they are oases in the documentary wastes made by fire, accident, and neglect in our American commercial history. We have a ledger, 1725–32, invoice and journal specimens in the same period; better than all, a letter book, 1736–42. The splendid parchment page of the old ledger rebukes the soft pulp, the swift-whirling rollers of modern paper-mills. "*Laus Deo*, Boston, N. E.," heads the page, inscribed by the portly and respectable clerk with a gray goose-feather, new-nibbed for the important occasion. No haste, no unseemly rush of telegraph messengers, no distracting "Helloa!" of telephone, in the presence of that staid functionary, inditing the doings and doing the will of a Boston merchant. Glory to God! he put piously in Latin words not open to the vulgar. Then he reckoned his L., S., D., and posted his columns, if slowly and methodically, yet in very much the same spirit which inspires the nimble and facile ministers of Jay Gould or the Vanderbilts in our day.

Account books.

These records indicate, in modern terms, a general shipping and commission business. He received goods from many correspondents, English, Portuguese, and French, sold them and made returns in new ships, fish, or other merchandise. Sometimes he ventured vessel and cargo, and these ventures were almost always divided in shares with his uncle, brother, friends, or correspondents abroad. But the most transactions

A commission business.

[1] In cabinet of N. E. Hist. and Gen. Soc.

are upon commission, When he charges a commission, whether upon a lot of fish or oil, or a bag of gold, it is at 5 per cent. He seems, also, to have imported assorted English goods for the account of dealers in Boston, charging them at cost, with an agreed advance. For example, December 2, 1732, an invoice of £93.5.2 sterling is charged at 350 per cent., the depreciated currency accounting for much of the high premium. Then these dealers reimbursed him in small sums.

A specimen shipment.

Let us follow his operations in building and dispatching the ship Providence for the account of Mr. William Limbery, of Bristol, England. January 12, 1736, he writes Mr. Limbery that Captain Godfrey is still awaiting the launching of the vessel, the winter being very severe. He was receiving English goods, chiefly textiles, constantly from Limbery. Pepperell & Odiorne had imported goods of their own, and they are mentioned in this letter. Moreover, Pepperell would give him but 4*s.* per dozen for Limbery's codlines, as Kenwood & Co. were selling at 4*s.* 3*d.* for the single dozen; the price had been 5*s.* the previous year at wholesale. Limbery had 500 pieces of "Duroys" ready for shipment in the spring. But Faneuil would not accept any business upon commission unless he could make returns in fish the year following. "It is Impossible to sell goods to raise money out of them to Purchase Spring Fish." The fishing was poor in that particular season. January 24th, the ship is ready upon the stocks, but waiting for the harbor to be freed from "y^e^ vast quantities of Ice." He sends an account current, showing balance due Limbery £8,965.14.6, made from the sales of numerous shipments given in detail. The goods came in ships and snows chiefly from "Exon" (Exeter), but occasionally from Bristol or London.

March 4th he announces Captain Godfrey's ship "Providence, Exceeding good as well as Beautyfull," completely fitted and laden, though the weather had been so

cold for three months that business had been "Impossable Scarcely." She was to sail in three days for Bordeaux with 137 hhds. 19 bbls. brown sugar, 7 hhds. 366 lbs. white do., owned by John Segal, of that port. The freight on sugars was to be 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. She carried 2 hhds. indigo also. The sugars and indigo were upon a French snow from St. Domingo, the vessel having been condemned in Boston. The remainder of the cargo — which filled her — was for owner's account, viz.: 11 M barrel staves, 11 "*Escriptores*," and about 8 doz. finished oars. He hopes Limbery will order Captain Godfrey back to Canso with a cargo of salt; in that event he will have a return of fish ready for the ship. He expects an answer from Limbery "by first Ships In the Spring."

The law oppresses the "faire trader."

But Faneuil has been forced to one act which vexed him sorely. "Thro the Caprice of the Judge of the Admiralty here, and it is in no way founded on Law nor Justice," he has given a bond that the ship will return directly from France to some port in America. Godfrey gave Faneuil a counter bond. His wrath is outspoken that his movements should be so constrained: "Every person here crys Shame of it. I hope you will represent this Imposition to some of your members that they may remonstrate this peice of Injustice done to the King's Subjects, and Endeavor to get him turned out of that post, for he is a Ville man, if you cannot obtain that I hope you will get a Letter of Repremand from their Lordships to him, which I desire you will send me open that so for the future there may be no more such Impositions on the faire trader, . . . the same being the needfull that Offers at present I kiss your hand remain" ——

It is evident that the king's ministers were awaking to the necessity of putting screws on some of the loose doings of the king's subjects.

March 22d, he advises that The Providence actually sailed on the 18th. He inclosed all the tradesmen's bills

incurred upon her, and noted the whole cost of the vessel at £4,873 6*s.* 2*d.*, with £511 1*s.* 1*d.* for the small portion of the cargo furnished by the owner. He observes that the prospective balance due Limbery, £3,582, will not be sufficient to pay for a full cargo of fish, when she comes for another freight. He says vessels are much cheaper in the river Thames than in Massachusetts. In another letter he had said: "Wee have 43 sailes of vessells now a Building in this Town, and there is nothing but Disapointm^{t} to be expected from them."

It seems that Limbery had consigned some goods to Captain Lee, presumably one of his own shipmasters, and had apologised to Faneuil. The latter accords heartily with his course, not disappointed that he did not receive the consignment. "Must allways Expect that the masters will have the preferance withe sale of these goods when they sell so much under the prisses of the factors."

He quotes sales of "Dufferen at 14*s.* 6*d.*, Baye at 5*s.*, Kersey at 25*s.*, fine Whitneye 53*s.*, coarse do at 28*s.*"

We may perceive the Boston notion of a "fair trader," in his relations with the British crown, from other portions of Faneuil's correspondence. June 7, 1737, he sends Mr. Thomas Lloyd, at North Carolina probably, a box of fine Barcelona handkerchiefs, to be sold for his account, and the proceeds returned in pork, wheat, or flour; value of 62 doz. at £7 is £434. His instructions read: "Y^{e} M^{r} (Captain) does not know what they are & you cannot be insensible that they cannot be Imported oppenly therefore I desire y^{r} care in gett^{g} of them on Shoar Immediately on y^{re} Arrival."

Contraband Barcelona handkerchiefs.

May 16, 1737, he sends an account of the "duroys" with a case of shalloons sold; also a case of shalloons sold for another party at 4*s.* 4*d.* per yard. He winds up business with Limbery June 20, 1737, saying he will accept no more commission business from any one, and recommending the captain to other agents. His reason given is the "badness" of trade.

Collections were slow. He remarks to Jacob Bernall, Jr., for whom he had sold rum, and who desires Spanish silver in remittance, that the shopkeepers always take twelve months and sometimes two years in payment.

He has frequent dealings with Miguel Pacheco da Silva at Cadiz and London. December 2, 1736, he is building a ship for Da Silva's account, to be sent to Canso for a cargo of fish. He reports a portion of the consignor's "Linen Drapery" on hand, three trunks of "Callacoes," and all the 7*s.* 8*d.* "Garlex" and "muslins." Afterwards he reships some of these textiles to South Carolina. Da Silva sends him sails and cordage to fit the vessel. Logwood was often in great demand. May 16, 1737, the market having been cleared by cash purchases for Hamburg, the price had advanced so that he could buy judiciously for Da Silva.

It appears that Mr. Thomas Quay, of Kingston, Jamaica, sent an agent, Charles Pratten, to contract for building a vessel. June 3, 1737, Faneuil advises that he has put out the contract to "Benj. Hallowell, who will do it effectually." Pratten brought "so small matter of effects" that no builder would undertake the affair with him, and Faneuil was obliged to make it his own, and agree to pay the much-dreaded "Cash" for the vessel at £12 to £15 per ton. He quotes subsequently 800 tons shipping built for him at £12 or £15. "You'l not by any means neglect to send a sufficiency of effects either in Cash or a Quantity of Molasses w^ch^ will allways fetch the money." He directs Quay to order canvas, cordage, and anchors from London; these coming in time, the vessel would be launched the next November. June 8th he sends copy of the above, and reports sales of the inadequate "effects," rum at 7*s.* 6*d.* per gallon, with some sugar. He calls loudly for more rum, sugar, or anything, "surpriz'd that you sent so small a matter of effects as to carry forward such an undertaking and y^t^ by a stranger." Shipbuilding.

More remittance: "Should you fail doing of it, you may depend that I shant go on wth her."

Lest good Mr. Quay may not comprehend, he addresses him July 22, 1737, with the news that there are five ships belonging "to the West India," lying at the wharves, which the factors would not let go, for lack of payment, "so that I hope you'l Prevent y^{r} being one of the number."

The fishermen of eastern Massachusetts, especially Cape Ann, Marblehead, and Salem, were accumulating wealth. Limbery had offered to receive consignments of fish, one third part in the interest of the fishermen. Faneuil answered that the fisher folk were getting vessels of their own. He wrote Da Silva, November 25, 1736, "the shoremen have now 6 sail of vessels in the trade and they shipt of the last Year 14,000 Q^{ls}."

Fisheries move northward.

The merchant must extend his operations, looking eastward and northward for fishermen and customers who were not so independent. The Gut of Canso had now become an important base of supplies for the commerce of New England, and Faneuil sends an agent or resident partner to abide there. These mercantile connections bode no good to the realm of the king of France. June 13, 1737, our merchant commits the care of his affairs at Canso to Thomas Kilby, going from Boston to operate there in joint account with Faneuil. Francis Cogswell was to assist in the business, and apparently he resided sometimes at Louisburg. Faneuil keeps Cogswell advised of the eastern Massachusetts market for fish. June 13, 1737, he quotes April and May "faires" at 45*s*. Kilby is to send Captain Cumby to Bilboa with fish immediately, and he notes three more captains for cargoes in the near future. Kilby is to offset debts due Faneuil there in making purchases; to sell out Captain Merritt's sloop and cargo, if practicable; or she must "touch at the Eastward" coming home, for a lading of

"cordwood." Kilby was to have a credit, in money, at Louisburg also, and to pick up indigo, rum, molasses, or any available merchandise. Faneuil desires especially "Jamaica & Refuse fish." The choice fish went to the south of Europe, chiefly for fast days, while Sambo took the rejected, when he could get it. Kilby was to get as long time as possible on the bills drawn on Faneuil. Canso was rising in civilisation, for our merchant sent books of music there, and a diamond ring. June 20, 1737, Faneuil consigned Kilby a cargo of provisions owned equally by himself and his "good friend Peter Warren," of whom we shall hear more in the siege of Louisburg.

There was some bitterness between the Massachusetts fishermen and the rising Canso people. Faneuil wrote Kilby that he gladly commended Bell, Cogswell, and Odiorne for not over-salting their fish, which credits "their harbour." The Marblehead "Gentry wants much to here of their spoilling of there fish." Marblehead would have liked it destroyed, in Faneuil's opinion.

In the opposite direction, New York was the port which gave him most business. Philadelphia appears but seldom. August 2, 1742, he asks Peter Boynton there for a freight for a good ship of two hundred tons then lying in Boston. He quotes molasses at 7*s.* 6*d.* His uncle had maintained correspondence with Gulian Verplanck, in New York, and Peter wrote him frequently. He sends to New York small consignments of his English goods, with Barcelona handkerchiefs and Florence oil, when he has a surplus, and he frequently orders wheat or flour thence for his outgoing vessels, especially those to Cadiz. In 1736 wheat was 3*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* in New York. He buys bread for use of the ships. He buys, also, "inferior" bread, and New Jersey and "country bolted" flour. Verplanck in turn consigns various articles, sugar among others. Faneuil allows the customary $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to Verplanck on

Business with New York.

general business, after considerable cross-firing. Boston is the larger market, and controls more articles of luxury. In 1737 Faneuil is asked for a dozen "red Turkey or Morocker Lether chairs." And he sends Verplanck, by the "Sloop Boston Packett Josiah Milliken M^r," an easy-chair costing 14*s.* 14*d.*, ordered for a lady. He presents his New York correspondent, at the same time, a firkin of choice salmon. Some such amenities were needed, for there is a critical, even captious tone, sounding through Faneuil's letters, which the immediate facts do not warrant, as if there were old scores, irritating in themselves, but intangible, and not revealed by the ledger accounts.

A wide mercantile connection.

Occasional business drifted in, the Faneuils being known to the whole commercial world as responsible factors. April 15, 1737, he sends out the snow Phenix, P. Mariat, master, for Dartmouth, 90 tons and 10 men, loaded with 102 hhds. tobacco, 40 bbls. tar, black walnut, and staves. Her owners were French apparently. She was on her voyage from Virginia, when, disabled by a violent storm, she was obliged to put into Boston and refit. The captain drew on Faneuil for the expenses, and hypothecated the vessel and cargo "to answer the bottom bill." The "Impost office" forced Faneuil to pay £178 duty on the tobacco, which he considers unjust, but the officer could not clear the vessel otherwise. He writes the owners that he will petition the General Assembly, and try to obtain redress for their account. Having this interest in the snow, he writes Silas Hooper, in England, to obtain £250 sterling in insurance upon her. He orders from Hooper small items, like £30 worth of snuff, pepper, 50 pieces Russia duck, 100 doz. "port lines of 18 thread," 200 lbs. sail twine. For these two latter items he enjoins writing to Exeter for a particular brand. "Those made in London wont do here therefore upon no pretence send me any other." He sells wines in considerable quantity — one

cargo brings £2,686 — for Thomas Pendergast. They are entitled "Videna" and "Malmsey;" some are shipped from Teneriffe. When in over-advance for a return cargo, he takes security as above from the captain of the vessel. Hats were always a good merchandise. He accounts for a parcel amounting to nearly £400, in 1736, to Edward Dymoke, and promises to remit him in beaver. And in 1738 he writes Peter Lynch there were no Madeira wines in town; therefore "Vidone" would bring about £50 per pipe.

Those were small affairs thus intrusted in London to Hooper. London was the central mart and final exchange for all the commerce circling through Canso, Boston, New York, Bilboa, Cadiz, or other ports, American or European. The London correspondence was all-important, and the Faneuils conducted theirs generally with Loyd & Lane, or Lane & Smethurst (also Smithurst). This mercantile house performed the functions assigned to bankers in our time. He draws bills of exchange on them frequently in favor of Verplanck and of many other parties; settles his Barcelona and Cadiz business through them. He gets one item of credit in 1736 amounting to £10,104 3*s.* 9*d.* He remits silver often, 410 oz. at one time. He is writing them for insurance frequently; on one account £4,000 in insurance is noted, probably not all in one risk. Marine insurance was becoming common.

London the central mart.

He is constantly ordering tripe, chests of lemons, and "Seville oranges" and other dainties, by his captains, and they are sent to these banking merchants for the money. He is very precise in ordering articles of apparel for himself, *i. e.* "fine large silk hose for my own use." His sisters were equally fussy, finding a parcel of goods "to their Likeing except the Stock^{gs} which was white worsted instead of thread." Accordingly the stockings are sent back to London to the bankers. In 1736 he requested

Loyd & Lane to send from "Christ Hospital a Cleaver Sober young youth that has had the Small Pox wch is fitting to be brott up in my Counting House, one that wrights and siphers well." He directs them to give the master a fee of two guineas to "bring such a Lad Forward." If Loyd & Lane are prudent in the selection, and the lad shall behave well, they can promise the parents that Faneuil will advance him in the world. Such indications correspond with other facts proving that educated men were needed in the larger sort of affairs here. There is a marked difference between the correspondence of Amory, trained in the Westminster School, and that of Faneuil or the Pepperells.

Educated lads needed.

He commends the collector, John Jekyll, to these bankers, and is gratified by their expression that they will "notice" him. The relations of the collectors of the royal revenue with the merchants were very intimate.

We get an occasional glimpse of the larger regions of finance. The larger merchants of Boston had accumulated wealth enough to avail themselves of the solid investments of the mother country. There were good reasons for improving the opportunity. Probably the political tinkering with finance and the woful depreciation of currency in this generation impelled conservative property-holders to seek the protection of a better system. Bank of England, East India stock, and other securities were quoted in the "News Letter." December 8, 1737, Peter writes Claude Fonnereau & Sons, London, that his uncle, Andrew Faneuil, being indisposed, is unable to answer their "agreeable favour of the 11 October." The nephew acknowledges Fonnereau's advice of dividend received on Faneuil's £14,800 Bank stock, 3 per cent. received on £1,000 Exchequer annuity, and the reinvestment of his balance in £200 "East India Compy Bond" and £200 Bank stock. And the uncle is very well pleased with the agent's management

Investments in England.

in his affairs. July 27, 1738, after his uncle's death, Peter sends a mourning ring, and acknowledges their credit of Bank dividend £408.7.6, and their debit of £438.1.5, which they had invested in four East India bonds. He observed the low prices of stocks occasioned by petitions of merchants to the king against Spanish depredations. "It is high Time wee should have Satisfaction from those Villains who are as bad as Pirates."

October 31, 1738, he had in S. & W. Baker's hands: —

Old South Sea Annuities	£6,531 11 3
East India £100 Bonds	300
" " Stock	500

Barcelona was an important market at this time; probably the fish for the Mediterranean ports was distributed thence. He corresponds with Michael and Richard Harris there. In August, 1738, he had their commission to buy logwood at £60. It was very scarce in Boston, and not a ton to be had at the limit. He reports purchase, for their account, of the snow Friend's Adventure, John Corney, master, costing £3,322.6.11, with cargo of merchantable codfish costing £3,826.1.3. He was dispatching to them, also, the brig Ann, Bennett, master, with a lading of fish. At the same time he directs his joint operator Kilby, at Canso, to buy 1,000 quintals of fish, consulting with Captain Bennett. The Messrs. Harris were of the thrifty kind of correspondents whom merchants like. After making these disbursements Faneuil was still in their debt, and sends five drafts for £819.12.7¼ on Joseph Chitty, merchant, of London, which he hopes will be duly honored, for "four hundred per cent. is the very height of exch[a]."

Trade with Barcelona.

In September Peter gets news from his brother Benjamin, visiting London, that he had met one of the Messrs. Harris there, who told him that fish have a good prospect "up the Streights." So Faneuil congratulates himself on the dispatch of the snow and cargo. She had been laden

from Marblehead, for account of Messrs. Harris, with "the best & strongest mayfish ever shipt out of this Country, cost 4*s*. per quintall." It seems competitors of the Faneuils, some of "our N. E. gent^{n}," had promised on the London exchange to make returns, for English goods consigned, in less than twelve months. Peter says it could not be done within two years. He enjoins upon Benjamin not to undertake business upon such premises, as his "character must suffer. Goods of all kinds goes a begging," and responsible shopkeepers would not buy, trade being sluggish and money very scarce. Peter was scrupulous in promise, and careful in performance. He had drawn on Samuel and William Baker, London, and they had accepted £150 in favor of Verplanck. He writes September 7, 1738, expressing great satisfaction: "I would not for £500 you had not accepted of all those drafts for if you had not it would a bin a Slur to my Character w^{h} I value more than all the money on Earth."

This punctilious regard for duty to their fellows, and this respect for public opinion, renders the inconsistencies of these good citizens more glaring when they dealt with the crown. I have referred to Peter's idea of a fair trader.[1] December 4, 1738, we get another exposition of the Boston "fair trader's" methods with the government. One Germain Quienastre had consigned Faneuil five hogsheads indigo and one tierce of rum, directing the captain to advise with him how to save the duty. Faneuil writes Captain Wilkinson to "send it to Providence & from thence to come down in Carts that is Provided you can get a certificate for it from the Custom house & by that means I could save the whole or a great part of the duty."

Peculiar dealing with the crown.

September 7, 1738, he writes Silas Hooper concerning "the Discount of $6\frac{1}{2}$ p Cent in w^{h} I am satisfyed I am sorry it should make you so uneasy my enquiry into it

[1] See above, p. 611.

when I wrote you about it I did not but that you were in Cash for me and that you had bo^{t} the Pepper at the Sale & that you would have allowed me the Disco^{t}, but I find it to the Contrary I shall In a little time remitt you a bill of Exch^{a} for your reimbursm^{t} or more."

This helps to explain his instructions of December 7th following to Lane & Smithurst. He was then making another shipment of 1,200 quintals merchantable codfish to Messrs. Harris, Barcelona. They were to remit proceeds to London to Faneuil's credit. He desires Lane & Smithurst to buy therewith a lot of good pepper at the "next India Sale" if it is "sold reasonable." He desires, also, a "Lege" — runlet probably, called by New Englanders a "rullege" — of good arrack, if not too dear, — say 8*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* per gall. He expects from Lane & Smithurst a similar discount to that in negotiation with Hooper. "The same advantage by buying at y^{e} Sale as your predecessor Mr. Loyd used to allow deceased Uncle, this for your Government." The latter phrase was very common with him in winding up instructions or pointing an argument.

Petty affairs, and microscopic, detailed directions for the gratification of a fussy bachelor, run through the graver matters, as the runlet of arrack moistens a whole invoice of pepper. Sister Mary Ann, "that lives with me," a thrifty maiden, packs her discarded "snuff-boxes, buckles & Glove Strings" in a small box, which punctilious Peter delivers to Captain Gentil, and tells his correspondent gravely to sell them and return the proceeds in produce to the best advantage. The ladies were wont to make commercial ventures in their relatives' ships, but this commerce is upon the smallest scale that I have discovered.

A maiden's invoice.

All sorts of articles come from London through Hooper, the Bakers, Lane & Smithurst, and others, — three gold watches, "my slippers, Knife, Fork

Bachelor wants.

& Spoon," one dozen French knives presented, one dozen silver spoons, one dozen silver forks "with three Prongs, with my arms cutt upon them, made very neat & handsome, one dozen cotton caps in two sizes to sample. In one bundle was a piece of wax candle, sent "in order to gett me two pair of handsome new fashioned Silver Candle Sticks. Let em be very neatly made & by the best workman," arms engraved, etc.; half a dozen razors of the best, with a hone in a case; two pairs spectacles for the meridian of forty-five years, and one pair for fifty years. In all these personal conveniences, and minute provisions for adorning his own person and his female relatives, he did not forget the inner man. His palate was never long forgotten in the long letters put into prim, crabbed characters by the staid copyist, as Lane and Smithurst are gravely ordered "for the use of my Kitchen the latest best book of the severall Sorts of Cookery, w^h^ pray let be of the largest character for the benefit of the maids reading."

When Faneuil was aggrieved by injustice or any lax conduct on the part of his correspondents, his Celtic blood fired quickly, and his wrath blazed in a flame, whose fierceness words could hardly convey.

BOSTON *the* 6 *April* 1738

CAPTAIN JAMES GREENON —

Inclosed you have the Coppy of Mess^rs^ Thos Tho^s^ & Son's Letter to my Uncle & Self as likewise that of M^r^ Paul Griffen to me by w^h^ you will see what unhandsome usage I meet with from your & M^r^ Sigal's Owner had I ever Imagined of receiving such base I would have L^t^ both the ships have rotted by the Walls[1] before I would have Advanced my money to fitt them to the Seas & to be so used with Ingratitude by all w^h^ you may see what handsome parcell of protested bills I must pay. if this be the hon^r^ of your (Ragon men) God deliver me from them for the future I would not take their word for a Groat nor

[1] He always uses this term instead of "wharves" or "docks."

trust them for a Sous markt pray be so good as to inform Mr Sigal of this unhandsome treatment & that by those who call themselves Gent^{n} of honor I presume these pretended Gen^{tn} will think that I will sitt down by there unhandsome usage but they will find themselves very much mistaken for in about 3 weeks Time my Brother Benj^{n} goes for London & from thence for Rochelle & Bordeaux with all Acc^{ts} of both Ships & Cargoes with both the original bills of sale for them, & if they dont discharge those bills with the charges of protest &c. I have given him orders by virtue of the bills of Sale to attach both the Ships the moment they arrive & by that means I hope I shall get Justice done me. . . .

The style of expression in that period was loose and often furious. Faneuil's language is no more passionate than the occasion demanded. The action of his French debtors was extremely aggravating. Commerce demanded then a certain good faith and prompt execution of trusts or it could not proceed. The machinery of trade was not organised commercially or politically for such speedy execution of the will of buyer and seller as we have now. All the more was it necessary that men trusted in affairs should act justly, and answer freely to the call of honor. We have seen how Faneuil valued his own good name. Many little things show his faith in his fellows, and much was done in the constant hope that they would answer to his fair expectation. The French incident is one of the inverse results of these reasonable assumptions.

Honor necessary to the time.

There was no harmony between the branches of the Faneuil family. When Benjamin was in France Peter wrote him January 21, 1738 : —

Family matters.

. . . . . .

" I note what you say in relation to my Aunts managem^{t} wth our Uncles Estate w^{ch} is no more then I expected Know^{g} her to be subtill & cuning enough to manage any Affair of that Nature the Affair depending with Mr. De la Croix being of a peice with the rest I hope you will have finished it some way or Other before you leave France."

Their sister Ann married Addington Davenport, her legacy of £2,000 from her uncle Andrew being trusted to Peter. Another sister, Susannah, married James Boutineau, with £1,000 trusted as above. Peter made a curious mistake, much to his chagrin, October 26, 1738, in directing S. & W. Baker to transfer the above amounts to the husbands in fee. How he did it, with his careful habits, does not appear.

We can perceive in the columns of a ledger, and in the figures of journal entries, the customs of the community and the person's notions of right and honor. Between the lines of old letter books there appear, also, some secrets of the heart, and something of the experience which went toward the making of the whole character of the man. We might wonder that Faneuil was a bachelor, and that sister Mary Ann, turning off her buckles and snuff-boxes to the best account, re-dyeing her silk gowns with sound thrift, was sufficiently attractive to keep the handsome Peter away from the fair, and clear of the toils of matrimony. But one learns by what he does for others as well as by his own proper experiences. We see no trace of weakness or faltering in our merchant when he deals with men, or in any merchandise of the period. There was a kind of cattle, however, which vexed his patience, and that was womankind. What might have been his own sufferings through little Cupid the documents do not reveal, but he saw enough to know that "there is no acco^{t} for the Sex in Affairs of Love."

Affairs of the heart.

He seems to have been sincerely attached to a family named Iskyll, who were vibrating back and forth between Old and New England. He does them many favors, and the business of the brothers appears to be a matter for their convenience rather than his own profit. Among other commissions he attempts to ship two young lady sisters Iskyll, in good order and well-conditioned, to their brothers waiting in England. He had

Shipment of maidens.

taken passage for both with a servant maid, had paid for "the laying in for the voyage," and knew nothing until the morning of departure, January 22, 1738, of any change of intention on the part of either. Then Mrs. Hannah appeared, to sail with Captain Homans, and brought the news that Mrs. Mary would not go.

About a month previously Mrs. Mary had allowed herself "to be published to" an adventurer, one Linnington, of St. Christopher's, who had figured in Boston as a false lord. Notwithstanding he was worthless, pretending to a fortune, etc., Faneuil claims that he would have "inevitably" married Mrs. Mary had not our trusty bachelor and other friends of the family "interposed."

Faneuil naturally believed that would be the lady's last operation of "that nature for the present." But, as above stated, Peter did not comprehend the process by which becoming caprices enhance the charming fascinations of the fickle fair. Good sense was plain and open to our merchant's understanding; sense, sensation, and sensibility were beyond his vision. Accordingly he was surprised if not shocked to learn that she had changed her mind on the very morning of sailing, by reason of "some New proposalls" made by Colonel Saltonstall, of "Haverill." This sudden influence and precipitate power of love astounds our stolid burgher. That any one could do so much with the sex in three days, while he had been nigh twoscore years doing so little, filled him with astonishment. A few visits at the last, was all the courtship Peter could discover after investigation. As if three days and a colonel's title were not sufficient to carry off any pretty girl since Roman-Sabine days!

Sense, sensation, and sensibility.

The bachelor, the citizen of high social responsibility, and doubtless sister Mary Ann, were all shocked by this inconsiderate and fearless conduct of maid and swain. He is sure that she has been advised "by one and the other,"

and that these advisers had no wisdom to bestow where folly prevailed. He is almost tearful in stating to Richard Blacket Iskyll that the lady will surely suffer in repute and consideration, "being concerned in two such precipitate engagements so very soon one after the Other."

In completing the invoice and dispatch of Mrs. Hannah to brother Joseph, he is more formal and punctilious. His own repute as a perspicacious, shrewd, and diligent factor, and sister Mary Ann's benevolent interest, are involved in these unforeseen incidents. "I flatter myself you'l not atribute anything of the Lady's (who I cant help call'g unfortunate) conduct to m/a w^{ch} Ive endeavored all in my power to hinder, haveing ever had a sincire regard for the Family w^{ch} shall allways be with pleasure shewn as Opportunity presents."

Contented bachelor and old maid.

We see Peter and sister Mary Ann seated at a stout mahogany board, the London silver gleaming across the soft, shining napery,[1] and with the luxuries of all lands spread before them: can we wonder that each blessed their happy stars that no wiles of love, no uncertainties of either sex, vexed their placid stream of contentment?

He keeps at his work, turning the products of the Atlantic coasts and the islands of "the vexed Bermoothes" to the best account. He scans the markets, and watches for better courses for his vessels than the common chance of voyages gave. He writes Captain Thomas Lithered, on receiving news that his ship Hannah had gone to Lisbon, wishing that she had been sent to Newcastle instead, to load with coal for Boston. A good voyage would have ensued, as only one vessel had come in the summer of 1738. Consequently coal was at £8 per chaldron "for good pay."

There is no fixed course in his transactions. The more important commerce went through Gibraltar for the sup-

[1] His table linen was manufactured to his order by John Cossart & Sons, Bonvers, France.

ply of southern Europe with fish, timber, and lumber. But smaller operations in other directions are constantly occurring, toward making the round of communication and exchange profitable. When he wants a negro servant he is his own banker and importer. February 5, 1738, he invoices[1] 6 hhds. fish at 26*s.*, 8 bbls. alewives at 40*s.*, amounting with charges to £75.9.2, to Captain Peter Buckley, of ship Byam, for Antigua. Neither Newport, Boston docks, nor his own vessels[2] offered choice enough for his fastidious taste in the selection of a house servant. The West Indies had the best supply of trained negroes. Accordingly he directs Captain Buckley, in a careful letter February 3, to sell the fish and buy a straight negro lad, 12 or 15 years old, having had the small-pox, — if possible. As the slave is to be in his own service, he desires as "tractable a disposition" as can be found. Any deficit in proceeds of fish would be made up, and if a surplus ensued it was to be invested in merchandise.

Course of commerce.

The "fair trader" is still pursued by pestilent officials determined to execute the laws of the realm. March 10, 1738, Faneuil sends his brig Rochell, 120 tons, Screech, master, consigned to Robert Pringle, probably at Charleston. It was an experimental voyage, to occupy the summer, as the vessel had to return to Canso in the autumn for a load of fish. He shipped £1,580.0.7, all in rum ostensibly, and wished the proceeds returned in the cheapest merchandise, preferring sole leather for a part, and silver or gold for a part, though he preferred a credit in London to the specie. She might be sent to any European port. But he must have "dispatch" rather than profit on this small venture. Mark the methods of a "fair trader." The captain signed for a given number of hogsheads of rum; neither did the crew know of any-

The way to ship brandy.

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1863, p. 419.

[2] See above, p. 467.

thing else in the cargo. Faneuil writes: "there are two casks, viz. No. 1 & No. 2, w^{h} are Brandy, w^{h} you'll use the necessary Caution in getting safe Landed on Shore, so as not to be of any Prejudice to my Vessel & advise me if at any time any quantity may be safely imported to you & how it will answer."

The larger commerce continued the custom, noticed so frequently in the previous generations, of allowing captains a trading privilege for their own account free of freight. Faneuil writes Harris, his Barcelona correspondent, January 7, 1739, that he was forced to pay Captain Coleman, just sailing, £5 sterling per month and 100 quintals of fish "priviledge." The cargo was all fish, as Boston afforded at the moment no beans, logwood, or "Brazelado."

The solid men of Boston had newspapers brief and seldom in those days, no railway excursions, and few public engagements to absorb their time between the arrival of one vessel and the departure of another. They had ample leisure to attend to little personal or domestic wants. Sister Mary Ann had a regular account with Lane, Smithurst & Caswell, in London, which her brother managed in his ordinary correspondence. A suit of hers sent over must be dyed a particular color, and fashionable, then "watered like a Tabby." But thrift alone did not content the Huguenot-American maiden, descended from mercantile stock, and living in a commercial atmosphere. Her feminine love of chance shows itself in a purchase of one half of Captain Peter Buckley's two tickets, "No. 42^{m}, 234 & 43^{m} 223 in the present bridge Lottery." She credits the captain £5.8.6 for the same with Lane, Smithurst & Caswell, in London.

Sister Mary's ventures.

All sorts of articles come from London: four large, handsome octavo common-prayer books, in large type, with one "in french for my own use;" six coach-horse,

town-made bits; six bearskins of the largest, with two "large fine well painted Beaver Coats," for sleighing. He orders a sleigh from Depeyster, in Albany. A black foxskin is forwarded to be made into a handsome muff "for a woman." He sends back a dozen silver knife and fork handles to be sold, ordering the blades to be made into oyster knives and returned. The case for knives and spoons is ordered in great detail; the lining to be of red velvet, as it would stand in his dining room. His gold watch was to be put in order and returned with spare crystals. Personal wants.

Captain David Le Gallais must bring from Jersey, ordering it knit there, a white petticoat of "fine three or four thread worsted." If he could deliver verdigris in Boston at 10*s.* per lb. he could bring 400 lbs., at 12*s.* only 200 lbs. Faneuil's gun has been abused, and he wishes the captain's new one in exchange, paying a fair difference. Le Gallais must bring him some singing-birds. The captain is authorised January 21, 1739, to sell "the snow," which cost in Boston, very well fitted, £4,000, also the brig Peter; he hopes they will bring £550 each, to be deposited with Lane, S. & C. The "outsett" of Captain Peter Buckley's ship Byam is stated February 16, 1739, at £10,005.5.2, cargo at £1,135.14.8. One third interest is charged over to Lane, S. & C., viz., £3,403.11.2, and £390.19.10. The "outsett" of ship Judith and Rebecca, consigned to Miguel Pacheco da Silva, of London, September 19, 1737, was £5,118.19.2. October 21, 1737, he informs Silva, "Your ship and the two cargoes of Fish amounts to near £17,000." Silva was losing money on fish sent to Italy. In 1736 Silva had a cargo by ship Elizabeth, £2,326.11.3; do. by brigantine B—— £3,893.2.2; do. by snow Seville, £4,500.4; do. by snow Hannah, £838.12.11. Silva's credit balance then from several cargoes was £9,109.5.7. Captain Buckley's ship was a fine vessel, tight and well finished. She mounted a

number of guns, and could make a good defence, "at least against any small Pickaroon." But Faneuil would avoid risks, and ordered £600 sterling insured on vessel and cargo, for his one third part, from Boston to Param, Antigua, thence to London. He also insured £600 on the new brig Peter, about 100 tons, Screech, master, from Marblehead to Jersey, on the vessel only.

Larger issues.

Faneuil's thoughts were not confined to the enjoyment of his fortune and position, nor did he follow always in the routine of business which these accounts indicate. The following transaction moves into a higher sphere and involves larger issues. It exhibits clearly the methods of administration, the prevalent idea of loyalty, which the loose connection between crown government and colonial subjects suffered to exist, if it did not encourage. Illegal trade was going on constantly; when forced accidentally or incidentally on the attention of the royal officials, then the good colonial subjects winced and cried out against the injustice.

English law and colonial justice.

The sloop Dolphin, Adam Dechenseau, master, sailed from Cape Francis, consigned to Peter Faneuil. The crew mutinied, killed master, mate, and a nephew, and carried the vessel into Block Island, where she was lost. The cargo of molasses, rum, wine, stores, etc., was saved and carried into Newport, September 26, 1738. Peter details the occurrence to his brother, adding, "now I have a card to play to secure the Cargo for the owner w^{h} I hope I shall effect the men are all in gaol & Irons. I suppose every one of em will be hanged Save a french boy."

October 26th, he writes the men are all condemned to be executed, except one Englishman, turned "King's Evidence," and John Coupre, the boy, who was proven innocent. The authorities libelled the cargo, etc. Faneuil engaging Messrs. Read & Bollam, of counsel, "they assure me that they cannot take the Goods nor Materialls and at

the worst all they could do is to oblige the Mollasses to pay the Duty Mr. Bollam goes to the Island (Newport) upon the affair I believe the Judge is much Pushed how to manage this affair for I have told his friends to let him know that if he does not do Justice in the affair that I will carry it Home to England & w^h^ I am determined to do for the Vessel was not guilty of any acts of Piracy nor breach of any act of trade . . . it is true the Sloop was bound here that is nothing to the purpose she did not come a person is not to be hanged for design."

November 9th he writes his brother that "our worthy Judge" had condemned all the property. "Such a Peice of Villany no man could be guilty of but himself & all the world cries out a Shame at such unjust proceedings."

One third of the value of the condemned property went to the king, one third to the governor, one third to the collector. Faneuil commended the handsome defence made by his lawyer. He had expended £200 from his own pocket, and expected further expenses. He appealed the case to the courts in England. February 24, 1738, he writes S. & W. Baker, London: —

. . . "for I cannot see with w^t^ pretext or Colour of Justice, any Vessell bound from a foreign part of the World to this port of Boston, after the Crew Barbarously murder the Officers & piratically take possession of the Vessel, can be condemned in any other p^t^ in his Maj^ys^ Dominions, as a perquisite of admiralty for an Illegal trade no such trade being began or Entered upon in any manner either by the Officers of the Vessell or by any Factor whatever in behalf of the Owners, to whom, after justice had been done on the Crew (being hanged) the Vessel and Cargo ought to revert."

The facts are clear; the law must have been equally clear, or the judge could not have rendered a verdict in the teeth of a public sentiment opposing him so fiercely. The way of a crown administrator was hard. When we consider "the humanity" of Col-

Difficult administration.

lector Jekyll, of Boston, so much bepraised in connection with the firmness of this Admiralty judge, we perceive that much was required of public servants, both by the masters in England and the mastering neighbors in the colonies.

I pick up some scattering items from the correspondence. In 1737 the fishing season was remarkably successful; in 1742 it had declined very much. In this latter year New England rum appears frequently in the shipments. September 18, 1738, sugar was at £5 to £8 per cwt.; iron at £80 per ton in Boston; fish at 30*s.* to 35*s.* in Canso per quintal.

Luxurious living.

The personal wants are unceasing: tripe and bacon, citron water from London: backgammon table, men, dice, and boxes. He ships a pair of gray horses to St. Christopher's, the proceeds returnable in sweetmeats for sister Mary Ann, with remainder in sugar and molasses. He talks much of a gardener from London, being willing to pay £15 to £20 sterling per annum, and gets a chariot "and sober coachman" thence in 1738. He had an order with Verplanck for coach horses, but his desires are increasing, and he withdraws it to be transferred to London. There, he demands four horses "right good or none;" two English were inventoried in 1743. He writes in almost childish glee of the coachman, reported "the Noted's man in England." He pushes delinquent correspondents, being determined that they shall "Act the Honest and Just part by me," which is one of his favorite epigrams. He is severe at times on "Great Scrubbs" and "Scrubb Actions."

Method of accounts.

The principal books are kept in double entry, written in a large and elegant round hand. The names of accounts on the ledger are in beautiful letters, half Old English in character. The creamy parchment and ink like ebony rebuke our modern improvements. We cannot arrive at the precise amount of the business,

as the documents are fragmentary. "Profit & Loss" October, 1725, to March, 173$\frac{2}{3}$, amounts to £15,069.12.3; "Commissions" for the same period shows £15,796.14.9; "Account of Expence," December 11, 1729, to March 13, 173$\frac{2}{3}$, is £1,332.1.6. There is an account with "Generall Wares." "Cash," April–August, 1725, foots £4,430.10.2, with balance of £1,198.9.5. August–December, 1725, foots £8,688.0.6, with balance of £788.16.4. December–April, 1726, foots £11,300.17.8, with balance of £861.11.8. July, 1732, to March, 1733, the total was £41,752.9.2. Evidently Peter did not allow much more than one thousand pounds in poor currency to rust in the till.

The accounts vary in amount and character, being the consolidated results of the business I have described. Theo. De La Croix, Rochelle, August 1, 1739, to March 13, 1732, indicates gross transactions £15,769.17.4, with a balance of £3,564.7.1. The adventures were divided on the journal, generally in quarters or thirds, sometimes in ninths, and posted to the ledger. There are many historic names: James Scollay £433.19, Edward Bromfield £1,105.6.5, Edmund "Quinsey" £388.9.9, Samuel Pemberton £497.16, Stephen Boutineau (Faneuil's brother-in-law), £125.16.3, Jacob and John Wendell £104.11.5, John Maverick, £181.4.7, James Bowdoin, eight months transactions, £2,056.3.8, John Brown, Jr., Rhode Island, £346.6.

David Le Gallais was a Marblehead shipmaster, considerably trusted in Faneuil's operations. August 7, 1730, to September 17, his account foots £6,527.7.3, with balance of £91.15; October 6, 1730, to July 25, 1732, it foots £4,982.11.7, balance £1,734; July 26, 1732 it foots £3,727.3.2, balance £1,638.1.8. Le Gallais had a respectable share in the ventures.

With Gulian Verplanck, the account ran in two columns, one in New York currency. Many of the small English wares were sold to women; Hannah Deming, Bos-

ton, is charged May 8 to December 27, in various items, amounting to £1,005.0.6; again, £664.2.6. She pays from £50 to £100 from time to time. Alice Quick, Boston, June 8 to September 7, 1731, is charged £1,508. Her payments run from £10 to £60. William Downes ("pinman"), Boston, May 27, 1731, owes for sundry charges £126.13.6. He pays about £40 in a credit. The invoices were numbered, and references made to these numbers in the journal entries. The shipping charges were given in detail, as in the specimen given.[1]

Women traders.

The main items of his inventory[2] are interesting. The amount of his fortune looks small and smaller as we turn the telescope of time backward and see the figures on a diminishing scale.

We take leave of honest Peter Faneuil, the typical merchant of the later days of colonial dependence. He was a larger type of man than John Hull, but not much larger. He did not live to be tried in the experience of a generation later, when trading merchants were lifted into citizens, and citizens into the statesmen of a new-born empire. Many of his class then went out as refugees, failing to comprehend that freedom is larger than loyalty, and that patriotism must finally outweigh the conserving instincts of wealth, as it leans on the settled order of government.

His character.

There are indications in the character of Peter that he might have grown with that opportunity, and might have become one of the founders of the new state, as he did found the home of liberty in his adopted city. I have traced the course of a careful trader, a conscientious merchant, ruled by the conscience of the time and the conventional atmosphere around him. Kissing his hand to a consignor, pursuing a debtor, laboring to dispatch pretty and capricious Mary Iskyll, chastising a "scrubb," firing quickly at a "slur" upon his character,— in all these

[1] See Appendix E. [2] See Appendix F.

scenes Faneuil is the same master of affairs. A sybaritic lover of luxury, planning every convenience, he reached after every dainty the old or new civilisation could afford. But these characteristics did not exhaust the doings or satisfy all the capabilities of the man.

Allowing something for eulogistic[1] exaggeration, his charity must have been abundant, and not put forth in any ostentatious manner. The memorial hall bearing his name is a sufficient testimony of his public spirit, and of munificence at a time when munificence was almost unknown.

His theory and practice of "fair" trading with the government under which he lived, as described above, seems strange in any modern conception of loyalty and good citizenship; but it is one of the curious revelations of the nature of New England allegiance to the British crown. Mr. Lovell, the eulogist, coupled liberty and loyalty in the peroration of his funeral discourse upon Faneuil given in his own hall. Had Faneuil's acts and ways of trade been unpopular and counter to public sentiment, Lovell could not have put such emphasis into his eulogy. Technically, Faneuil appears to us to be wrong in construing the revenue laws. When he was ordering indigo and rum to Providence, thence by land, to avoid duties; when sending Barcelona handkerchiefs clandestinely; when sending brandy in false casks as rum, — he must have known, and his neighbors must have known, that the law was being broken. Yet custom had so dulled the public apprehension that they cried "shame of it" when the officials were obliged by their plain duty to enforce the laws.

Strange system of morals.

And now we come to the consideration of his probable attitude had he lived in the period when independence was gestating. In The Dolphin case, he was acting for a consignor, and paid the ex-

Liberty might have prevailed over loyalty.

[1] *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 265.

penses from his own pocket. He was so sure that he was right, that a technicality could prevent condemnation of a vessel pursuing illegal trade, because the trade had not been consummated, that he appealed the case to England. It is fair to conclude that he was so entrenched in his idea of liberty that he would have followed that idea when it appealed to arms a generation later. The passionate enthusiasm of his race would have carried him probably into independence. Loyalty in such a community meant obedience to law, so long as it did not interfere with their cherished privileges, and those privileges, whether open or secret, were respectable.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMMERCE FROM LOUISBURG TO QUEBEC.

1745–1759.

THE eighteenth century was the first period of history when commerce and its dependent industries shaped the destinies of mankind. The great French and English commercial companies were contending for a monopoly of trade in India. On our continent the two powers carried on a series of wars, rising or falling with the exigencies of the contest elsewhere. The Great Frederic, with his Prussian sword, was cutting away the heart of Austria bit by bit. But the main drift of the historic current prior to the French Revolution was in the play of the new commercial life. War and peace both worked out the new commercial desires, and with new methods of acquiring wealth through the possession and development of new countries westward and eastward. Trade was gradually supplanting plunder.

New commercial life.

The period including the years 1745–59 made a mere episode in the great drama, a scene in the shifting world-play of the two great European powers. But for New England this greater scene became a little drama all its own, pregnant with the fate of these rising colonies. It was true that the maturing state no longer felt the same apprehensions which vexed the infant colonies. Village and homestead slept quietly now, without fear of French, half-breed, and Indian war parties. Maps and plans projected from Canada for the conquest of Boston would excite now only laughter among the comfortable burghers of New England. But the New

The New England episode.

England men could not rest, could not possess themselves or their own country, while martial France held such points of vantage. The fishing grounds and coasts were under constant menace, while the mighty rivers and lakes of Canada might bring down the power of France upon the new Anglo-American civilisation at any moment.

Our peculiar genius exerts itself.

The peculiar genius of New England, its will active in putting forth all energies, its adaptive power in bending these energies to the public business in hand, shone out for the first time in the siege and capture of Louisburg, on Cape Breton, in Acadia. All the power of an empire, as expressed in one locality, all the science and rules of warfare, were overturned in a few months by a throng — it could not be called an army — of fishermen, farmers, and mechanics, officered by volunteers, commanded by a merchant militiaman. Greater than all deficiencies of troops or commander was the astonishing strategy of William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, the directing genius of the expedition. He planned a simultaneous arrival of a hundred vessels, in the darkness of night, on a forbidding coast; an instant landing; a rush and surprise, with an immediate assault on one of the best-constructed fortresses in the world. These stone walls and moated bastions, with their subordinate batteries, were defended by 161 guns, 76 swivels, and 6 mortars. It was expected that a garrison of two hundred could hold the works against 5,000 men. When our friends actually brought up their siege train they had only 18 guns and 3 mortars; but they had men, though they were raw in the besieging of strong forts. A New Hampshire colonel, more familiar with saw and plane than handy in regimental manœuvre and tactics, built sledges. The privates harnessed themselves thereto, with straps over their shoulders, and, knee-deep in mud, dragged the guns over morasses where wheels never could have gone, until they brought them into position. The whole

affair was a picnic; but it was a festival of "Ironsides." Pomeroy, a Northampton gunsmith and major, wrote his wife: "It seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long." The Christian wife, with Spartan spirit, answered: "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

The general was characteristic of his country and of the expedition. New England commerce evolved but one baronet after Phipps. Sir William Pepperell was ennobled for his gallant conduct and success in this siege. The stroke by which his feudal suzerain lifted him above his fellow-citizens was fated if not fatal. His son and prospective heir died while the whole district around was praying for his life, leaving the baronet a helpless mourner. He bequeathed the great Pepperell estate, the accumulation of half a century, without the title, to a fourth grandson, William, on condition that he change the name Sparhawk to Pepperell. It was said the baronet could ride from Piscataqua and Kittery Point, his residence, to the Saco River — nearly thirty miles — on his own soil. He had large possessions, also, in other districts. The estate was confiscated in 1778; by one or another cause, large fortunes disappear in our country. Two grandsons of his daughters were kept from the poorhouse by the bounty of strangers.[1]

The general.

Pepperell is a conspicuous figure in the middle time of New England history, the closing period of the colonies. As Faneuil was one of the last colonial or dependent merchants, so Pepperell was a link between a decayed feudalism and the new representative or republican life. These feudal shreds and tatters, coming from the earlier and differing social conditions of Europe, affected us but little. In Pepperell's

Significant social changes.

[1] Parsons, *Pepperell*, pp. 327, 328.

declining days, when the baronet in scarlet coat and gold lace sat in his barge rowed by black liveried servants, his fortune decaying amid these hectic splendors borrowed from the Old World, he was a feudalist. In his youth, when his sagacity improved estates and voyages, when his cheery voice of enterprise sounded through the inlets of Piscataqua and the far forests of Maine, he was a representative New England militia colonel; he was the proper leader of the expedition which was to precipitate the new-grown forces of western life against the power of old Europe.

A strong will went hand in hand with a controlling judgment, then unswerving tact worked out his purpose. His great personal power impressed itself on other men through this balance of character. It was said frequently that whatever he willed came to pass; this was because he willed in the direction of common sense. His humane, sympathetic spirit was as marked as his faculty of command. Punctual himself, he exacted full performance from others. It was said [1] that he never failed in making a promised payment at his stipulated time; such positive and conscientious punctuality was not common then.

Massachusetts furnished the greatest number (3,000 men) to the expedition; New Hampshire sent 500, Connecticut about as many; Rhode Island embarked 300, but too late to participate in the capture. June 17, 1745, the city, fortress, and batteries were surrendered. England owed the best success of the whole war to her children in the new land. When the news came, our people were overjoyed. The reimbursement of the colonies for their expenses in the expedition and siege was made by England in specie; this was a great factor in the currency problem, as will be seen.

The burghers of the various seaports now went on in the old ways of commerce. I have shown the importance

[1] Parsons, *Life of Pepperell*, p. 322.

of the slave-trade.[1] In whatever branch of trade we find ourselves now, we are impressed by the immense prevalence and moving power of rum. Negroes, fish, vessels, lumber, intercolonial traffic in produce, all feel the initiative and moving impulse of rum. The movement was at its height about 1750.

Rum a great commercial factor.

In that year an agent reporting to the "Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury"[2] gave 63 distilleries in Massachusetts turning molasses into rum. It was merchandise in Guinea, on the Banks of Newfoundland, in the Southern colonies, in exchange for furs with the Indians, and "as store for the consumption of about 900 vessels engaged in the various branches of their trade at sea." There were employed annually in the mackerel and other small catch for the West Indies, 200 vessels; in cod-fishing, 400 vessels; in the pursuit of whales on the North American coast, especially in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, 100 vessels. Rum was the moving agent in these various summer voyages; when the vessels came in, they were dispatched again to exchange more of it in the Southern colonies during the winter for bread, corn, pork, and other provisions for other voyages in the ensuing summer. One half of the catch by the "Bankers" made refuse codfish, which was shipped to the West Indies for sugar and more molasses. The better or merchantable moiety went to Europe — chiefly to the southern part — for specie and desirable goods. Rum sent to Guinea brought back gold "to pay the balance of trade to England," or slaves sold in the West Indies for sugars or bills of exchange; also used to liquidate balances.

Governor Clinton reported the character of imports and exports for New York in 1749 with much detail.

[1] See above, p. 451 *et seq.*

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 379. In 1749 there were entered at Boston 489 vessels, and 504 were cleared. 1 *M. H. C.*, iii. 288.

I cite this list in Appendix D, as it indicates equally well the course of New England foreign trade.

Newport kept pace with Boston in the relative proportion of its distilling business,[1] though the amount was not so large. We observe an extension of general commerce into smaller ports like Gloucester.[2] About 1750 this fishing port was sending cargoes to the West Indies, and to Bilboa and Lisbon. It was noted that the revenue officers connived at smuggling and fraudulent entries. Connecticut[3] exported little except to the neighboring ports. New Hampshire carried on a small foreign commerce.[4]

Course of industries.

The business of shipping — the industrial movement, which, partly on land and partly on water, sent off a ship and her cargo — created some of these minor ports like Gloucester. The industries necessary to furnish the compensating parts of a voyage, or succession of voyages, could not be concentrated altogether in the great central ports, as in our time. Labor and laborers were needed so constantly that minor communities sprang up where they could draw their support from the adjacent country. We see an illustration of this in the career of Edward Payne.[5]

He had been distilling, but lacking capital for that business, in April, 1746, he bought a vessel in partnership with others, loaded her with "rum, fish, flour &c," and sailed in her for Gibraltar. He sent the vessel back to Boston with prize goods, remaining himself to dispose of his merchandise and buy another cargo, against her return. But as she entered the Straits a second time, she was captured. He bought a brigantine, Zant, made

[1] See above, p. 458.

[2] Babson, p. 385.

[3] Douglas, *Summary*, ii. 180.

[4] For the commerce of Newport and Portsmouth, 1747–48, see Douglas, *Summary*, ii. pp. 50, 99.

[5] *M. H. S. Proc.* 1873, pp. 417, 418.

Philip Payne master, took some prize goods, and went in her to Villa Nova, in Portugal. There he loaded with salt and some fruit, returning to Boston April 22, 1747.

In May, 1748, Peter Chardon furnished him £1,000 sterling for a venture in The English Trade,[1] two thirds of the profits going to the capitalist, one third to Payne, with the privilege of transacting his own business separately. "Money growing scarce, and that Trade being dull, they closed the venture amicably" in 1752. He entered immediately into equal copartnership with James Perkins of Boston, agreeing to settle at Gloucester. Perkins put £1,000 sterling, Payne £500, into the capital stock. Payne removed to Gloucester March 22d, built a store, a wharf, and fish flakes, a number of fishing vessels, carried on fisheries and a foreign trade, in which he "succeeded beyond expectation." After nine years of satisfactory business, they divided the stock, closed the copartnership, and Payne returned to Boston.

Here Boston furnished the capital and the skilled enterpriser or capitaliser. Gloucester furnished the field of operations, with the mechanics, fishermen, and sailors, which made the business possible and successful.

Whenever a political change in the foreign relations of England opened a port, or admitted commerce with any country, it quickened the commercial movement along the whole New England line. Wines of the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries[2] were always an important factor in our trade. But a new privilege of trade between Madeira and Brazil took effect at once in increasing the exports of Salem.

Interaction of English policy

In 1748, Scott, Pringle & Scott,[3] of Madeira, writing John and William Brown, Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., Samuel Curwin, of Salem, advise that the island has had some supply of "Bacalhao," but not enough for the season of

[1] For the course of vessels here, see *Bos. News Let.*, Dec. 22, 1748.

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 376.

[3] *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

Lent. Wines were £36 per pipe. Grain was needed and rice was scarce. Again, in the summer, wines had advanced to "40 to £46 per pipe," rice, train oil, and butt staves being in demand. But the significant statement was that Madeira had been licensed to export "fish & other foreign provisions" to Brazil, "which in course will open a larger & more beneficial commerce between this & your Colony."

West Indian trade.

The West Indian trade proper, always of consequence, increased in relative importance in the periods when rum, molasses, and negroes were in the greatest demand. The poor or "refuse" codfish paid for the inferior molasses pouring northward into the distilleries of Boston and Newport. The embargoes of the French War interfered necessarily with the easy progress of the trade.[1] It was estimated in 1755[2] that Barbadoes took from New England annually merchandise amounting to £100,000 sterling. The Boston newspapers reported the prices current of Jamaica[3] and other markets in the West Indies. Horses and lumber eked out the exchanges of fish, as in former years.[4] Honduras logwood was a coveted article, and cargoes of provisions went to pay for it.[5]

"French War" encourages our commerce.

War makes as well as destroys commerce. The "French War of 1755" was a positive force in making commerce for a time in our colonies. It was stated on the authority of Dr. Franklin that the imports into the Northern colonies in the period 1754–58 were doubled over those of 1744–48.[6] The increase was caused by the shipment of military supplies and kindred articles. Embargoes interfered with the ordinary course of trade, and the provisions usually exported were taken

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 159; *R. I. C. R.*, v. 442.
[2] *Hist. et Commerce Cols. Angleterre*, p. 129.
[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 29, 1749.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 365; *Bos. Eve. Post*, Feb. 18, 1754.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 224.
[6] Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 13.

for the colonial and English troops. All exports of provisions except fish, to English ports, were forbidden.[1] Massachusetts and Rhode Island each took stringent measures to prevent the illegal supply of provisions from going to the enemy.[2] The general embargo was modified enough to allow vessels with provisions from the Southern colonies[3] to return home. The Newport merchants represented by Godfrey Malbone, William Vernon, Metcalf Bowler, and others made an ingenious remonstrance[4] against the Act of 1756 prohibiting trade with the neutral ports. The great Pitt was inflexible, and kept the ports closed. Monte Cristo was closed in 1757, and opened again in the following year by act of the Rhode Island colony.[5] Some of the circumlocution in the reports concerning illicit trade is very curious.[6]

Notwithstanding these legislative efforts, the futility of embargoes and paper blockades appears plainly in the commercial movement of the period of the Spanish and French wars.[7] The demand for provisions in the French colonies, especially in the West Indies, must be met by a supply. When it failed in one direction, being checked by vigorous administration, it appeared in another. When Boston was under control, Narragansett Bay and the lagoons of Connecticut and New Jersey spread too many outlets to be stopped. When the risk became too great there, as the patriotism of New England rose to the height required by the impending conquest of Canada, then Ireland sent the needed food across the seas to the West Indies. The prohibition of trade was hardly begun before it began to oppress trade with friendly ports, which could hardly be distinguished from that intended

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 442.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 439, 446 ; and *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 109.
[3] *Bos. News Let.*, April 7, 1758.
[4] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, ii. 143, 144.
[5] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 147.
[6] *Doc. N. York*, vi. 511.
[7] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 212.

for illicit supply of the enemy. Parties exporting to Surinam and to North Carolina gave bonds for a faithful execution of their published intention.[1] A party, though proclaiming that he would carry his provisions to legitimate ports, was suspected and pursued.[2]

Then another practical difficulty intervened. Merchants shipping to West Indies, thence to Honduras, thence to Leghorn, and so home, were accustomed to feed the longshoremen of the ports while their brigantines were exchanging cargoes. They obtained the privilege of taking out extra beef and flour by giving bonds.[3]

The Massachusetts embargo was reinforced by another act in 1756.[4] But in the same year Governor Hardy,[5] of New York, complained to the Lords of Trade that prohibition of trade with the French Islands could not be made effectual unless all the "Provision Colonys" should unite in the action. Then he would need small cruisers to police the coasts and enforce the embargo. At the same time he stated that five Irish vessels carried cargoes to St. Eustatia at once.

In 1758 the governor of Massachusetts was obliged to allow all provision sloops and schooners to pursue their voyages to Nova Scotia. Vessels under sixty tons were limited to five men, larger ones to six men, and they gave bonds to bring back a certificate of their unlading at Nova Scotia.[6]

Irish trade.

In 1757 the crops were so bad in Great Britain and Ireland that they were obliged to lift the embargo, allowing an export of provisions from the colonies.[7] The Irish market for grain was of sufficient importance to Boston to cause a publication of lists of the course of trade in it.[8]

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. pp. 120, 152.
[2] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 627.
[3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 131.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 236.
[5] *Doc. N. York*, vii. 117, 163.
[6] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 449.
[7] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 11.
[8] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Nov. 25, 1754.

Boston in 1742[1] had put its light-house fees at one half-penny per ton for vessels outward or inward on foreign voyages. Coasters to Canso, or southward to North Carolina, paid one shilling for each voyage inward. In 1751[2] a fire damaged the light-house very much, and the General Court obliged every vessel sailing from any port in the Province, for two years, to pay from 2*s.* to 4*s.* toward the reparation.

Light-house and other fees.

Naval officers' fees[3] at Boston in 1751 were 3*s.* on each vessel outward or inward on foreign voyage; 2*s.* to or from Connecticut; 1*s.* to or from New Hampshire; 1*s.* for coasters to or from ports within the Province. Newbury in 1759 was attached to the "Port of Piscataqua," and one William Jenkins writes to Mr. Curwin, the collector at Salem, that the masters of vessels could not go to Salem to enter and clear for Piscataqua. Jenkins offers to collect all the fees on vessels coming from Halifax or elsewhere, "till its other ways ordered."[4]

An excise was granted his Majesty in 1750,[5] viz.: 12*d.* per pound on tea, 2*d.* on coffee, 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon for arrack, 6*d.* per pound for snuff, 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on chinaware, gold and silver lace, French cambric and lawns. These duties were enforced, and committees appointed to farm them, together with those on wine, spirits, lemons, limes, etc., met from time to time.[6] New Hampshire in 1756 laid an excise of 20*s.* per hhd. on rum, 20*s.* per pipe on wine, 1*s.* per bbl. on cider, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. on green and "Boha" tea, also a tax of one penny per acre on land.[7]

Connecticut in 1747 made one of the few spasmodic efforts to interfere with inter-colonial trade. She entertained an act levying five per cent. duty for

Connecticut taxes home trade.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 182. [2] *Ibid.*, lxiv. 454. [3] *Ibid.*, lxiv. 424.
[4] *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc. [5] *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 429.
[6] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 25, 1752; Jan. 20, 1755.
[7] *N. H. Prov. P.*, vi. 473.

citizens, or seven and one half per cent. for foreigners, on imports from neighboring colonies, and the same from Great Britain. It lasted but a short time, and an export duty on lumber shared the same fate.[1]

Underg-writin.

Joseph Marion[2] advertises in 1746 that his insurance office, kept since 1724, is still at work, insuring risks, lending money on "the bottom of vessels," and transacting other business of a maritime nature. When there was a partial loss, as in the case of the snow Union, and a part of the shippers were insured, they advertised[3] for the claimants to come together and take their share of the goods saved. Then the insurance was adjusted for those shippers who held policies.

The business of underwriting was very hazardous when the European powers were at war, which included a large fraction of the time. In the French War, in 1757, rates from the West India "Sugar Islands" to London advanced to 30 guineas per cent.; for the return voyage, 3 per cent. for convoy "clear of the islands," or 10 per cent. for "convoy the voyages," was charged. From all parts of the continent of America to London, without convoy, the rate was 30 per cent.; between the "Sugar Islands" and America, either way, 20 per cent. It was claimed that the underwriters were losing money at these extraordinary rates.[4]

Stephen Hopkins, at Providence, engaged in underwriting as early as 1756.[5] Whether he wrote on voyages from Providence or from Newport does not appear.

Coasting trade.

The great trade made from myriad articles exchanging along the Atlantic coast went on so silently that its constant progress was hardly noticed. In

[1] *Conn. C. R.* 1747, pp. 283, 293.
[2] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1746.
[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 17, 1756.
[4] *Bos. News Let.*, July 28, 1757.
[5] Foster's *Life of Hopkins*.

these sloops, brigantines, and small schooners, the great ebb and flow of colonial industrial life tided up and down, in and out, with an unceasing current of commercial activity. We have seen the interchanges with Virginia and the Carolinas. The trip of The Bathias in 1755[1] from Philadelphia to Boston, thence to Newfoundland, is an example of these lively currents in the exchanges. She brought into Boston $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons bar iron, 261 barrels flour, 250 bushels corn, 1,500 staves, 10 barrels 5 kegs and 397 pounds bread. She took out for the fishing grounds the corn, staves, and the odd 397 pounds of bread. The flour was reduced to 195 barrels, and the chinks in the cargo made by reduction of the edibles were filled by 12 hogsheads 2 barrels of rum, and 6 hogsheads of molasses. Honest Jack Falstaff, the aristocrat, with his diminishing bread and his intolerably increasing sack, found his counterpart in the poor commoner hooking cod on the Banks of Newfoundland.

There is little doubt that this substitution of rum for food affected the whole business of commercial exchange in this period. Between the derangement of an inflated currency and the diversion of productive industry to distilling and its collateral slave importation, the building of vessels and the catch of fish fell off. The waste of the Louisburg and Canada wars helped, — as we see from the rates of insurance and losses by underwriting, — but the main cause of the decline in these important industries must be found in rum. Losses by rum.

Cod-fishing was a great factor in every industrial movement on the New England coasts. It was watched over in the legislatures and always protected with jealous care. In spite of their interested cooperation in the catch, the fishermen were not invariably contented. Desertions, while on the voyage or "fare," troubled each generation more or less. In 1755 the Mas- The fisheries.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 99, 100.

sachusetts General Court[1] enacted that no man should receive any share unless he continued for the full term he shipped for. Douglas[2] cites the figures of the "two custom-house districts" of Massachusetts Bay to prove his allegation that the export of codfish fell from 120,384 quintals in 1716 to about 53,000 in 1748. Salem shipped in $174\frac{7}{8}$ to Europe 32,000 quintals, and to the West Indies about 20,000 quintals of refuse cod for negro consumption.[3] In 1748[4] there were 55 fishing schooners at Marblehead, 20 at Cape Ann, 8 at Salem, 6 at Ipswich. There were twice as many a few years before according to Douglas. The fifty-ton schooners ran out into deep water; the deeper the water the larger and firmer the cod. According to Felt[5] the fishing was done by schooners altogether. Only eight sailed in 1749, — less than usual, — about fifty tons each, carrying seven hands, with an average catch of 600 quintals per annum. They made "five fares" each season, two to the Isle of Sable, three upon the Banks along Cape Sable shore.[6]

Classes of vessels.

To classify Douglas's[7] list of $174\frac{7}{8}$ roughly, there were more than three sloops to one schooner; more than two schooners to one each of the other types, — ship, snow, brig. The proportion of schooners was larger at Salem, which cleared in the proportion of one vessel to four from Boston. The latter cleared from Christmas, 1747, to the next Christmas, 540 vessels. It entered only 430, while Salem cleared 131, and entered 96 vessels. These were foreign craft, exclusive of coasters and fishermen. The larger proportion of clearances confirms a movement towards larger vessels noticed by Mr.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 69.
[2] *Summary*, i. 539.
[3] *Summary*, i. 538.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 537.
[5] *An. Salem*, ii. 218.
[6] For full details of the method and movement of the cod and mackerel fisheries see Douglas's *Summary*, i. 301–303. And for division of each fare to each man, see Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 383.
[7] *Summary*, ii. 538.

Amory a quarter century earlier. They sold out the smaller craft, and it was profitable to bring home only the larger classes. The New London list, $174\frac{8}{9}$, shows the same disproportion.[1]

Douglas states that the business of shipbuilding maintained "above 30 several Denominations of Tradesmen and Artificers." This fact shows how our ingenious and industrious people divided their labor, and combined it again in producing a ship, the noblest mechanism of that time. He shows a great decline or "gradual decay" of the business in Boston by the comparative numbers of topsail vessels on the stocks:[2] In 1738, 41 vessels; in 1743, 30 vessels; in 1746, 20 vessels; in 1749, 15 vessels. He does not allow for the increase of shipbuilding through the growth of smaller ports like Gloucester noticed already. Haverhill became, before the Revolution, one of the most "important interior commercial towns."[3] Its rise in commerce and shipbuilding dates from 1751, when there "was quite a rush for lots" to build wharves. Providence[4] was beginning to follow Newport with slow steps, and York[5] in Maine had twenty vessels with five more fishermen afloat. Portsmouth, or Piscataqua, was an active port, and Benning Wentworth sent Daniel Blake into Connecticut in 1756 to survey masts and spars.[6] Notwithstanding the "decay" of the industry claimed by Douglas at Boston, it was stated in 1755 that the New England vessels were cheaper and better than those of other colonies.[7]

Variety of industries in shipbuilding.

Governor Wentworth, at Sir William Pepperell's request, appointed Jotham Odiorne, Joshua Pierce, and Mark Hunking Wentworth a commission to appraise the value

[1] Caulkins, *N. London*, p. 245.
[2] Douglas's *Summary*, i. 539.
[3] Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 333.
[4] Foster's *Life of Hopkins*,
[5] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 570.
[6] *Conn. Arch., Trade and Mar. Aff.*, i. 41.
[7] *Hist. et Comm. Cols. Ang.*, p. 121.

of a frigate the baronet was to build for his Majesty's service in 1747. They awarded £9 per ton for the vessel completely fitted and equipped with forty-four guns.[1]

In 1752 Josiah Quincy[2] built the ship Fearon, receiving £2,250 9*s.* 4*d.* "To send her to sea," £141 7*s.*, and for master's bill £60 was paid. Her charges at Jamaica were £150, at Thames River, £60; portage bill, £270; insurance on vessel, £240; her freight for "Lumber Cargo at Jamaica" was £500; freight home, £1,000.

The shipmasters.

The shipmasters conducting this commerce were vigorous men, who often went from the decks of these little vessels to important positions on shore. Generally they settled as merchants, but sometimes became men of mark in other vocations. Robert Treat Paine,[3] afterward a lawyer of eminence and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a schoolmaster at Taunton for one year, about 1749–50. Then he made three voyages to North Carolina, becoming a master on shipboard, and finishing his last trip *via* Fayal and Cadiz. Then he commanded a whaling vessel upon a trip to the coasts of Greenland.

Captain Richard Derby,[4] of Salem, had a conspicuous and eventful career on the seas. In 1739 he made successful voyages in The Ranger from Salem to Cadiz and Malaga. In 1742 he was master and part owner of the Volant, for Barbadoes and the French Islands. Here he had some great difficulties to overcome. Finally, in 1757, he retired from the seas and became a merchant in Salem.

Furs and Indian trade.

New England was never altogether without furs in making its exchanges. The towns at this time gave bounties for foxes, even as near Boston as Beverly.[5] Faneuil mentions beaver at times in his remit-

[1] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 161.
[2] *Mass. Arch.*, liv. 223.
[3] *Hist. Taunton*, ii. 309.
[4] Hunt, *Amer. Merchants*, iii. 20, 21.
[5] Stone, *Beverly*, p. 318.

tances to Europe. Probably he obtained furs in his transactions at Canso, as the Indians had them on that coast. But the trade was now at a comparatively low ebb, which situation changed after the conquest of Canada. The Hudson Bay Company was summoned in London for "non-user" in 1749. Their enormous privileges had dwindled under their hands to the possession of four or five forts with 120 regular employees. In 1755 the Hudson Bay Company's beaver (winter) sold in London at 7*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* 4*d.* per pound. A bale of 120 pounds contained 130 to 160 skins.[1]

The French struggled hard to confine the commercial advantage of their furs to Canada and to their home correspondents. A "great penalty"[2] was exacted in Canada for carrying furs to the English. But the laws of trade were stronger than the absolute edicts of the French officials. Indian goods were cheaper in Albany than in Canada. The French traders smuggled their furs by Indian carriers to their correspondents at Albany, thus sending trade away from "the flag."

Massachusetts had a balance of £13,324 6*s.* 4*d.* old tenor in the hands of the commissary for the truck-houses in the Indian trade in 1746.[3] As the beaver were more numerous in the northern districts, so their fur was of better quality and the staple longer. In the South the skin contained more hair relatively. In the northern parts of America the pound of beaver was often a unit of value in the currency, while in the Southern colonies the same office was performed by a pound of deerskin.[4]

The whale fishery, now an important constituent of our general commerce, according to Douglas, languished somewhat about 1748. But the second Act of Parliament of this date encouraging the business

Whale fishery.

[1] *Hist. et Comm. Cols. Ang.*, p. 23.

[2] Kalm, *Trip into N. A.*, ii. 260.

[3] Douglas, *Summary*, i. 538.

[4] Douglas, *Summary*, i. 176.

was felt in New England the following year.[1] This act added another 20*s.* per ton bounty to the 20*s.* granted properly equipped vessels by 6th Geo. II. Foreign Protestants serving on whaling vessels had the privileges of naturalised citizens. American vessels were to be licensed on inspection, and if they touched England during their voyage, they would receive the bounty.

The increased use of lamps in Europe had made the oil a necessity.[2] Prices of whale oil in England were £18 13*d.* per ton in 1742, £14 8*s.* in 1743, £10 in 1744, £21 in 1753.[3]

The business had concentrated in Nantucket by 1746. In 1745 the skilful fishermen of that port sent 10,000 bbls. of oil to Boston.[4] The low prices affected the pursuit, and the amount fell off. Only three or four whales were caught near Cape Cod in 1746; they were leaving our colonial coasts. Attempts had been made to send vessels as far as Davis's Straits in former years, but now they persevered with six or seven vessels, and established the fishery there. The craft were sloops or schooners, each carrying two boats and a crew of thirteen men.[5] In 1751[6] they voyaged about the Island of Disco, at the mouth of Baffin's Bay. In 1755 they cruised about the Western Islands. They enlarged their vessels now, fitting some of 100 tons or more, and occasionally a square-rigged craft. Nantucket lost twelve of its finest vessels by French captures in two years, — a severe catastrophe.

Manufacture of sperm candles.

An important industry, growing out of the whale fishery, was founded in the manufacture of sperm candles, by or "a little before" 1750. Benjamin Crabb, an Englishman, obtained the exclusive right of manufacture for fourteen years in Massachu-

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 315.
[2] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 36.
[3] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 54.
[4] Douglas, *Summary*, i. 59.
[5] Douglas, *Summary*, i. 296.
[6] Macy, *Nantucket*, pp. 52, 54.

setts in 1750.[1] It does not appear that he improved the privilege. His factory above mentioned was started in Newport, and burned in 1750 or 1751.[2] In 1753 Obadiah Brown built another at India Point, in Providence, and engaged Crabb to conduct the business. He would not or could not give the necessary skill, and Brown was obliged to learn the secret of refining the spermaceti by his own experiments. He succeeded so well that 300 bbls. of head matter was manufactured that year, consuming all that was kept from the body oil and not exported to England. Moses Lopez began at Newport in 1754 or 1755, and several others soon followed. By 1761 there were eight factories in New England and one in Philadelphia.

Privateers were much employed by both contestants in the Spanish and French wars. They were the most effective means of annoying the enemy. The business of fitting and dispatching them became, for the time, the most important element in commerce at the port of departure. All the New England seaports took part in this private war and commercial speculation. Boston[3] and Salem were well represented, but Newport led in the number and enterprise of its vessels.[4] In the war beginning in 1753, which resulted in the capture of Quebec, many of the old privateers[5] cruising in African or West Indian waters were called home, and refitted for service against Canada. Officers and men trained in the partisan warfare of the seas fought on land also, at Ticonderoga and upon the Plains of Abraham.

Successful privateering.

Captain John Dennis, of Newport, was a noted and suc-

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 370. [2] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 69.

[3] See *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 389, for form of certificate given the ship Kilby, 200 tons, 12 carriage, 18 swivel guns, and 30 men (crew not complete, probably). The privateers were generally armed with cannon and swivels, muskets, cutlasses, pistols, and grenades. *Mass. Arch.*, lxv. 268.

[4] See Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, pp. 24, 51.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 56, for lists of vessels.

cessful commander. He won his reputation in the brigantine Defiance,[1] as early as 1746. In 1756 he sailed in The Foy, a large new vessel, never to return.

We may conceive the inflammatory effect on the New England imagination when the meagre newspaper announced a great capture, as in 1746. Dennis[2] had taken a rich Spanish prize, having in specie alone 22,500 pieces of eight. In one cruise, 1759–60, Abraham Whipple, of Rhode Island, captured 23 prizes, valued at $1,000,000 or its equivalent in paper.[3] In a land where money was scarce and the people brave and venturesome, such sudden acquisitions of riches — though the prizes might be few in number — must have drawn the bold and resolute spirits to the privateer flag.

All sorts of questions in maritime, civil, and international law arose in the prosecution of this half-trading, half-plundering business. In 1748 a prize proceeding to Boston was alarmed by the great numbers of French and Spanish privateers cruising on the coast. The master ran into Newfoundland, the weather likewise compelling towards that course. His cargo was condemned there, but he sailed to Boston without disposing of any portion. The Boston custom house attempted to collect duties, but on petition the cargo was released.[4]

Providence and Bristol,[5] R. I., were beginning to appear in general commerce. In 1747,[6] Stephen Hopkins and other citizens sent out the privateer Reprisal from the former place. She captured 160 hhds. 40 bbls. sugar and 12 bbls. indigo, which were sent into Newport, and Deputy Collector Wanton sued the owners of the privateer for the duties under the Sugar Act.

In a curious case the brigantine Providence, Jon. Sheldon, master, with a cargo of molasses, valued at £20,000

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 170, 177.
[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 2, 1746.
[3] Sheffield, *R I. Privateers*, p. 29.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 328.
[5] *Bos. News Let.*, May 19, 1757.
[6] *R. I. Arch., Admiralty Court.*

New England paper currency, was captured by the Spaniards in 1747,[1] and put under command of Francisco Yudice, lieutenant. He alleged that the master agreed to ransom the vessel by giving 500 bbls. flour and a sloop. On arriving in Providence, Sheldon, "not having any regard to justice or the Rules to be observed among Nations in Time of war for their mutual advantage," denied all satisfaction. The Spaniard brought suit for libel, but William Strengthfield, judge in the Admiralty Court decided that Yudice, being an alien enemy, could not be heard, and dismissed him liable for costs. It would seem that it was the custom to ransom vessels, and if so, it must have been done upon honor.

Curious justice for enemies.

All the privateersmen were prolific in tricks. In 1746 the Spanish sloop Pearl was condemned a lawful prize by Judge Strengthfield[2] to The Polly, Captain Helm. The Pearl was commanded by a Dutchman, and it was attempted to clear her by a Dutch passport issued for another vessel in the West Indies. It was proved that the fraudulent use of Dutch passports by Spaniards and Frenchmen was common. The cargo had neither "Bill of Lading, Loquet, or certificate;" the vessel's papers had been thrown overboard. This, in itself, would have condemned her.

Sharp tricks.

Many slaves were taken in the prizes; 96 are noted in one vessel. The business seems to have interfered with slavery at home, for Rhode Island passed an act in 1757 to prevent privateers from carrying slaves out of the colony, under a penalty of £500.[3]

Notwithstanding the profits of plunder taken from the enemy, Newport lost much more commercially than she gained by the "old French war." Her citizens protested against a tax in 1759, because the town had lost more than "two millions of money," while the agricultural

[1] *R. I. Arch. Admiralty Court.*

[2] *Admiralty Court Reç. in R. I. Arch.*

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 61.

communities were benefited correspondingly by the high prices received for their produce, and which were the result of the war. Providence took part in privateering, which, in the words of Moses Brown, made "many Rich and some poor." The commerce of this port first becomes important in this period. James Brown, the father of Obadiah, Nicholas, John, and Moses, had eight vessels under his management, "all West india vessels some to Surinam with Horses, &c."[1] Moses Brown found on his father's books the names of vessels belonging to different owners, viz., from 1730 to 1748, 15 vessels; from 1748 to 1760, 60 vessels.[2] Stephen Hopkins, Daniel Jenckes, Nathan Angel, and others were joint owners with the Browns. One cargo of ship timber floated down the Blackstone and loaded in the Seekonk for London, about 1751, he mentions especially. Colonel Edward Kinnicutt took out vessel and cargo, sold them, and brought back goods, which supplied "3 shops," Daniel Jenckes's, Obadiah Brown's, — where Moses was brought up, — and Kinnicutt's. Before the opening of these shops, the county was furnished by a shop in Providence, owned by parties in Newport.

Commerce at Providence.

One of the most instructive as well as the most curious lines of study growing out of historical records is in tracing the different kinds of morality prevailing in the transactions and customs of a particular period or locality. The English Navigation Acts, and their outgrowth in illicit colonial traffic, furnish a fruitful field for this social development in every generation. We have seen how representative merchants like Faneuil shipped foreign brandy in false New England rum casks, and smuggled Barcelona handkerchiefs, as coolly as they took snuff in the streets of Boston. The trade at Cape Breton equally defied the law.

Morality changes with the period.

[1] Moses Brown, *MS. Letter on Commerce*, R. I. H. S.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18, a list of vessels in detail.

In 1746 [1] the French at Cape Breton, though prohibited by treaty from trading intercourse, were supplied with English or colonial products in such quantities that the markets were glutted, and prices fell below the cost of the produce at home. About 100 sail of vessels were employed each season. After the French fisheries were supplied, the surplus went to the French West Indies. These prices, though thus reduced, were not ruinous. For the brandy, wine, oil, sailcloth, cordage, iron, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, indigo, drugs, East India goods, and other exports of France and her colonies, paid so well in the English colonies that the first loss was made up in the large profits of the return. In 1753 [2] the same traffic is noticed.

In 1748, "rum, cotton, molasses and other goods" [3] were carried into Boston by land from the neighboring colonies, and these goods had not been entered at any custom house. In 1751 [4] "a settled course of traffic" had been carried on many years, in defiance of the law, from the North American colonies to Marseilles and Toulon. The New Englanders and other colonists took out naval stores, timber, lumber, train oil, logwood, furs, etc., and returned the European, East and West India goods, as above stated. The returns did not pay the duties imposed by the Act 6 George II. The trade was so large that "vessels have been purchased for and fixed in this commerce only." A similar trade was conducted with Holland.

Course of illegal traffic.

The Dutch trade was "carried on to Rhode Island & Connecticut and thence through the sound" [5] to New York. The merchants of Newport and of New York were all engaged in it. This clandestine trade could be done so advantageously in small ports that out-of-the-way

[1] Bollan, *Cape Breton*, pp. 118–120.
[2] *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 560.
[3] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 7, 1748.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, xxii. 21.
[5] *Doc N. York*, vii. 273.

places like East Greenwich, R. I., entered into the business.[1]

In the illicit traffic with the French, the officers and crew were interested in the venture of the cargo. In 1747 the brigantine Victory,[2] owned by Joseph Whipple, a merchant of Newport, was captured by his Majesty's sloop Hind. She was libelled as a lawful prize concerned in illicit trade with enemies of the crown. The libel was lost, but the case was appealed. Meanwhile Cooper, the master, shipped at £20 per mo. New England currency, Downer, the mate, at £14, Vickers, a mariner, at £12, Concklin, a mariner, at £10, all sued Whipple for their wages. Whipple answered that he had received nothing from the vessel, and that officers and crew were concerned in the cargo, having "goods of great value on board." Judge Strengthfield decided that, the vessel having been released on bond, the mariners could have their wages on giving bond to restore them if the vessel and cargo should be condemned finally. Whipple paid the amount of wages into court under this decree.

The existing records of original transactions are few and scattered, yet enough remain to show clearly that the commercial business of New England went forward under different forms in the several governments, but always toward one end. That end was money and profit, parliamentary law and crown administration to the contrary notwithstanding. The interesting letter[3] cited from Gilbert Deblois, a Boston

Desire for profit stronger than the law.

[1] Greene, *East Greenwich*, p. 23.

[2] *R. I. Arch., Brig. Victory*, 1747.

[3] *From Am. Ant. Soc. MS.*:—

Bos. *Aug*^{t} 6 1759

Sam^{l} Curwin Esq^{r}.

S^{r}. I shall Esteem it afav. you'l take an Opp^{y} to Inform all your Merch^{ts}. & others, Concern'd in Shiping up Wine, Oyl, Olives, Figs, Raisins &c. that I am Determind Publickly to Inform the Collector of this Port, of any those Articles I can find out, are on board

official, to Samuel Curwin, a prominent merchant of Salem, reveals the practice of Boston and Salem in handling imported merchandise which had escaped the king's duties. The "honest" candor of the energetic Deblois in visiting vengeance on Captain Ober — who had offended the official — is as astonishing as it is naïve. Here a public officer deliberately warns a community of respectable law-breakers that they will suffer the penalty due any and all transgression, if they presume to ship their goods by a particular and proscribed captain. "They must not (after such notice of my Design) think hard of me, as what I may do will be to punish s^d^ Ober & not them." Debauched public sentiment and corrupt official practice was never more plainly manifest in an individual action. If we had Ober's counter idea of honesty and cheating, then eighteenth century public morality would stand out in full relief. As it is, these silhouettes are instructive. Interesting parallels might be found

any Vessell Commanded by, or under the Care of Cap^t^. Ober, in order they may be Seiz'd, I shall not Concern my self ab^t^ any other Coaster, let 'em bring up what they will, but this Cap^t^ Ober has Cheated me in such a manner, (tho to no great Value) that I 'm determind to keep a good look out on him, therefore would have all those Concern'd in that Trade, Regulate themselves accordingly, & if they will Risque any such Prohibetted Goods in s^d^ Ober^s^ Vessell, they must not (after such notice of my Design) think hard of me, as what I may do will be to punish s^d^ Ober & not them — I have just told s^d^ Ober that I w^d^ send this notifacation to Salem & w^d^ Certainly get his Vessell & Cargo Seizd Sooner or Later.

I am S^r^

Your hble Ser^vt^

GILB^r^ DEBLOIS.

P. S. I 'm a lover of Honest Men, therefore, dont be Surpriz'd at the above, as I look upon Ober to be a great Cheat.

Pray Distroy this when done with.

Answered Aug^t^ 13^th^.

in the attitude of the public mind toward slavery legislation in the United States prior to the war for secession. Ethics differed according to the latitude of the citizen.

Rhode Island customs.

The business of evading the Navigation and Sugar Acts was done more openly in Rhode Island. The Massachusetts governors appointed by the king enforced a certain conventional observance of the laws. But the Rhode Island executive, elected by the people, found methods of interpreting the laws in a popular way.

Robert Robinson,[1] in a letter to Francis Brinley at Newport in 1749, gives a graphic sketch of the circumlocution in high places which embarrassed any effort to collect duties. On Tuesday, July 18th, one John Clarke, one of Mr. Whipple's shipmasters, informed Deputy Governor Ellery that a French ship was seen going by Conanicut, through the west passage. Our old friend Whipple and his captains seem to have had sharp eyes for detecting illicit goods on an alien and competing vessel. Deputy Ellery was not over-hasty, nor did he give information to the custom-house officers. He sent for Governor Green, of Warwick, who went to Newport and called a council. The council, "on mature deliberation," found they could not act in the affair. The next day, Wednesday, Mr. Wanton, the collector, being informed, got ready with his aids at 4 P. M. and sent to Robinson to "carry the colours, which I sent him." On Saturday morning Wanton told Robinson that he had been up the river as far as Warwick, and that the Frenchman was gone. The governor's warrant was not given to the collector, but to one Bennett, a constable. He was to assist the king's collector, but would not part with his warrant. "By this management, Sir, you may see how the power of the King's officers is eclips't and what hopes there can

[1] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, ii. 123.

ever be of preventing illicit trade while the constitution contains thus."

Vessels were dropping into Newport almost daily from the "Straits," nominally laden with salt, but it was an open secret that valuable goods were smuggled in. Robinson says that he is weary of complaining, for every governor since 1738 had refused him assistance. "I have not yet seen or been present at the swearing of one Master that enter'd ——, or to one hogsh'd of molass's shipt off from here, tho' several of both sorts have been done since the instructions were sent."

Laws thus executed must have trained the subject in a rude self-government, the beginning of the way of independence.

The activity of smugglers, the paltering impotence of officers executing unpopular laws, are forgotten for the moment. All bureaucratic work and the greater work of trade and commerce are overwhelmed now in the flames of the great tragedy blazing across the Canadian border. An empire was being consumed and was wasting to its end. War had solved destiny. Trade, lawful or unlawful, waited while the state, mustering its whole energy, put forth its arm and struck down the power of France in the New World. Quebec fell in 1759.

Fall of Quebec.

The genius of the elder Pitt, "England incarnate," had found at last a fit instrument in the intense energy, the magnetic chivalry, the high soul, of Wolfe. After a weary, failing campaign, before defences supposed impregnable, with inferior forces, sick and worn, — his gallant soul chafing his weak body, — this hero had moved his forces in the night and sprung a battle, which is one of the finger-posts of Fate in her dealing with the modern civilised world. With admirable wisdom, adopting a plan not his own, using the best skill of sailor and soldier alike, Wolfe landed his columns under the rugged Heights of Abraham: these steady men, animated by their leader's valiant and

impetuous spirit, tugged at root, twig, and branch, climbed and ran, until the English power faced the French in equal position on the plains commanding Quebec. Montcalm, outgeneralled though he was, met his assailant with unflinching courage, and both these brave men fell in this memorable battle.

French and English races.

It was not that Montcalm was altogether inferior to Wolfe, or that the victorious legions of the great Louis had lost their valor or their skill. The power of feudal and military France had met the power of commercial and politically organised England with inevitable results. The spirit of the seventeenth century yielded to that of the eighteenth. The English race, uncontrolled, untrammelled in individual action, germinated in thousands of settlers' homes along the Atlantic coast. France, a better organised military power, seized the points of vantage, occupied the fairest interior regions, and controlled the savage warriors who made those regions inaccessible. Pitt, the great commoner, was a fair exponent of this overwhelming force in his race. He was a proper genius of the eighteenth century, an interpreter to the aristocratic ruling classes of the mighty social and political force heaving in the classes below. He brought a greater number of common men and women into larger life and freer action, and thus multiplied the power of the state. When he marshalled the forces of England and America against feudal-tied and priest-ridden France at Quebec, the result was inevitable.

The mother country furnished the leaders and the disciplined skill necessary for a campaign. The colonies furnished many of the men, the supplies, the solid forces of civilisation, which alone can sustain prolonged warfare. England, expecting defeat, went mad over the news of decisive victory. And New England! Her joy expressed itself by all the loud methods of tumult. Bells, fires, gunpowder, meetings, popular exultation, inspired by hered-

itary hatred of the French invader, sounded, blazed, and shouted everywhere. Senate, pulpit, press, all joined in the psalm of victory. Here and there a deeper tone vibrates through the shrieking clamor, and calls our attention to the mighty possibilities of the future.

Prophetic indications.

The Swede Kalm, travelling here a few years earlier, had reported that America expected at some day to be freed from the sovereignty of Great Britain. It is known that cool observers in the mother country did not altogether relish the prospect of abolishing the new France when English expeditions were mustering. Victory, yes, but not annihilation. The immanent power of France was needed to keep the growing colonies in order. The political spirit of the vigorous children must be kept in leading-strings, in order that the commercial markets might remain open. These colonial markets were necessary receptacles of British goods, which the growing wealth of these communities might create for themselves. Jonathan Mayhew, a young minister of Boston, who was to become conspicuous in the Revolution, shows that the mystic hand of Destiny had been laid upon him in his Thanksgiving discourse. With the blessing of Heaven, these scattered colonies would become, "in another century or two, a mighty empire." Then the deep voice of the seer sounds through his exultant psalm, though its outward expression is in the form of a negative, when he says, "I do not mean an independent one."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LAST PERIOD OF COLONIAL DEPENDENCE.

1745–1762.

MUCH patriotic ingenuity has been expended in literary exposition of the causes leading to the revolt of the American colonies. In both England and America the tendency has been to exaggerate the importance of individual mistakes, the ultimate consequence of particular events, issuing from the conflict of parties, or the exigencies of administrative action, especially in England. American historians have magnified the loyal disposition of the dependent colonists seeking only the full privileges of Englishmen, while the advocates of the Loyalist cause and of crown rule have dwelt upon the idiosyncrasies of patriotic agitators intent on misrule.

Exaggeration of details.

It has taken a full century to clear away the fogs of technical attack and defence. Modern historians cannot escape altogether the mists of the old disputes. Even the candid and fair-minded Lecky[1] has overdrawn the power of agitators and ambitious young lawyers in Boston, when initiating the "Writs of Assistance" resistance, "Stamp Act" agitation, and other measures culminating in acts of revolution.

Neither Grenville nor Lord North, James Otis nor Samuel Adams, did much toward creating or retarding the series of movements resulting in the Revolution. Larger Europe put forth colonial settlements; the inevitable outgrowth was an empire bounded by the two greatest oceans, swept by all the breezes and lighted

The inevitable conflict.

[1] *England in the Eighteenth Century.*

by the fairest skies of our temperate zone. Legislation wise enough, bureaucratic administration energetic enough, to contain this tremendous and impending creation, was impossible in the Europe of the early eighteenth century. England half succeeded, France and Spain failed utterly, in their attempts to control the destinies of the New World. Representative government, not yet fully developed in the shires of England, could not stretch federal arms across wide seas, nor could it embrace varying social systems in its control. On the part of the colonists in the future United States, it was impossible for them to develop a system of obedience to distant rulers, to make harmonious response to ignorant and ill-regulated statutes. Their actual life had bred them to the practice of self-government, and was fast opening to them the methods of self-reliance.

Previous economic growth.

I have shown that the colonists — especially those of New England — went forward steadily, subduing the earth and multiplying wealth, through navigation and sugar acts alike. Whether ministers were strict or lax, whether customs officials were active or lazy, public opinion in New England sanctioned a tacit nullification of parliamentary statutes, and individual greed, with ingenious enterprise, secured nearly all the advantage of open and free markets.

Development of leaders.

Now, after the capture of Louisburg, a new field was opening to these illicit, excluded merchants and producers, — more prosperous than their ruling competitors protected by Parliament, — these triumphant militia heroes, more successful as soldiers than the petted aristocrats sent from the dawdling court life of London to impose their petty dilettanteism on growing colonial strength and manhood. Leaders had been forged out of this rude colonial life, this contact with the widening spheres of America; leaders with force sufficient for the impending crisis, with a mental grasp enabling

them to comprehend the opportunity of the continent. Their ambition would drive out the French; their conscious strength would possess the privileges of English citizens, with the possibilities of American empire.

In truth, this state-making force was but incipient and in the germ. Yet the new-born manhood, the consciousness of power within the freeman, looking toward larger and better government, began to manifest itself. A larger organism of state, a better coöperation, an autonomy which should articulate into itself the town or parish meeting and the rude colonial assembly, began to work in the minds of men. This sentiment found its first political expression in the remarkable assembly at Albany in 1754.[1]

Over and beyond this industrial expansion by agriculture and by productive commerce bringing wealth, this political expansion through the growth of a colonial planter into a citizen and governor, there was a negative force which enormously increased the action of these positive elements in state development. Each and every American of worth and intelligence was made to feel definite and positive inferiority whenever he was brought into contact with any Englishman. There was a social essence of divinity clinging to the proud islander which benumbed the colonist of similar stock and heredity. The colonist had been subduing the rude earth, and the far-away islander would fain enjoy the best results of the effort, the firstfruits of colonial labor. The superior would possess the better results of the toil of the inferior.

English insular arrogance.

This insular pride, this over-conscious, unfeeling Englishry, oppressed our present generation of Americans especially. Their pride was broken, their latent loyalty was grieved by their arrogant elder brothers, the representatives of the crown. A remarkably clear manifestation of

[1] Hutchinson, *Massachusetts*, iii. 20.

the effects produced in the sensitive colonists by this kind of depreciation appears in the letters of Robert Hale,[1] of Beverly, about 1755. He was a prominent citizen of Massachusetts, and commanded one of the regiments in the first siege of Louisburg. Altogether he was a man whose opinions were worthy of consideration. He breaks out in sorrowful remonstrance: "A strange prejudice possesses ye minds of those of our mother country against ye Americans." Yet, as this prevails especially against those of New England, he claims there must be a particular reason for it. He finds it in the fact that our colonists are dissenters from the national church. The insularity of our cousins fills him with wonder. "I scarce ever cou'd light of an Englishman who wou'd admit that we had anything in this Countrey comparable with what they have at home of the same kind." Yet the "Gentleman's Magazine" could say at the same time that Boston was a finer town than any in England except London.[2] His pride is not so much wounded as his patriotic love of his country and of the king's interests. "For my part I cou'd be content they might always enjoy the satisfaction of y^r^ own Sufficiency & even in war, if it were not ruinous to his Majesties Service & our own welfare — but Experience shows their perseverance most always has proved fatal to us." He charges directly that commanders would "take the wrong path prefarably to any an American wou'd point out." In their arrogant self-sufficiency they could see nothing but inferiority around them. In proof, he cites the well-known instance of Admiral Walker's running the vessels of the Canada expedition on the rocks rather than listen to the expostulations of the New England pilots.

Robert Hale's complaint.

In England itself, at the mother's own hearthstone, he finds no better appreciation of the absent children, toiling in the wilderness, and buffeting the French and Indians.

[1] *MS. Letters*, Am. Ant. Soc. [2] *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, v. 152.

London magazines informed him that "Cape Breton was taken by y^e^ British Fleet, tho' every one who was there knows that they never fir'd a Gun against it, nor lost a man, except by Sickness — so impossible does it seem to be to our nation that a N. E. man can be good for anything."

He pays a just tribute to Governor Shirley, who, though an Englishman, had been twenty years domesticated here, and had acquired a knowledge of the necessary conditions of American warfare, and a due understanding of the temper of our people.

England's right and duty.

England may have had the right to found colonies on the "mercantile system." She could demand the immediate advantages of their prosperity — by taking their products home to herself — rather than the indirect advantages coming to her, more slowly but more certainly, through the expansion of these affiliated and contributing communities. That was the way of states in those times, and none can dispute her right. But the right involves the duty of a thoroughly successful execution of the purpose. Having proceeded in this direction, she was bound to make laws she could sustain, and when made, she must put them into execution. The colonies suffered by lax and poor administration, but England suffered more. She lost the opportunity of linking the growing American nation to herself by the ties of constant interchange and intercourse.

Laws to the contrary notwithstanding, the American colonies had developed interests in every country and across every sea; had accumulated wealth more speedily than almost any other people. They felt their strength. When to this course of inefficient legislation and weak administration there was added the insolence of incompetent soldiers and bureaucrats, one result, and only one, could ensue. The interests of the incipient state were growing too large for the rickety hoops of parliamentary

legislation; the personality of the citizens was overtopping that of the insufficient agents of the crown and the feeble representatives of English pride. Waning dependence, in the course of nature, must give birth to a new independence.

"Writs of Assistance."

The first serious eruption of this latent disease in the colonial body politic we have been studying, manifested itself in resistance to "Writs of Assistance" in Boston in 1761. The lax methods of government could not go on forever, and the crown was proceeding to pick up and enforce its neglected and half-forfeited rights. The writs were search-warrants for smuggled goods, unreturnable and liable to great abuse.[1] They had been heretofore used sparingly — it is asserted — without exciting much discontent. Fifty-eight leading merchants had joined in a memorial against them in 1760.[2]

Now, under the lead of Chief Justice Hutchinson, after a fierce resistance in the courts on the part of James Otis, the question was referred to England. The home authorities ordered their issue, and they were freely employed in collecting the revenue from goods which had escaped the royal tolls in the first half of the century. Boston was inflamed and irritated in every nerve. Pocket and pride sympathised in a spirit of resistance, slow and stubborn, yet ardent from the latent forces I have described. The passion of Otis, the learning and audacious courage of John Adams, the scheming tenacity of Samuel Adams, all met ample response in the angry and resolute citizens, whose interests in production and exchange were now being fettered.

The new loyalty.

Loyalty to the sovereign was something more than allegiance to the person of the king, even in the crude political development of the eighteenth

[1] *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, v. 155; Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, ii. 531, 547.

[2] Snow, *Hist. Boston*, p. 248.

century. There could be no abiding loyalty without a solid basis of law, justly enacted, firmly administered. When Navigation and Sugar Acts emanated from the British legislature, and were placed in the hands of the king's representatives, they carried inherent political growth or decay. If the vital chord of loyal administration carried the king's power into the subject's daily doings, then a good citizen was either created or assisted. Contrariwise, if for a century subjects grew and prospered, subduing the land, prevailing over seas, in daily disregard of plain parliamentary statutes and feeble crown administration, then decay of loyalty must and did follow. A new citizen was being evolved, who was to become neither colonist nor subject. For many reasons this last period of colonial dependence is interesting, both in its economic and its political aspects.

Course of the towns.

The mid-century acts of the towns show more and more of this rising spirit of nationality. The crown officials could not comprehend the latent force of the bodies of freemen in town or province assembly. In their eyes, they all consisted of "ordinary Farmers & Shop keepers of no education or Knowledge in publick Affairs, or the World."[1] If these common people had not been out into the world, they soon brought the world home to themselves. Newbury, Mass., in 1754, considering the proposed act for granting his Majesty an excise on wine and spirits distilled or retailed and consumed in the Province, voted that the part relating to consumption of spirits in private families "*is an infringement on the natural rights of Englishmen.*"[2]

Town administration.

The towns passed on every kind of municipal business, from a hangman's bill[3] to the assessment of taxes. In Salem, 1750,[4] they assessed "Estate

[1] *Doc. N. York*, vi. 462. [2] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 221.

[3] *Narragansett Hist. Reg.*, i. No. 1, *Sheriff Brown Papers.*

[4] *Bentley MS.*, copy of old record, Am. Ant. Soc.

& Stock of Creatures" according to law, and a "Trading Stock and Shipps as one fifth of value." They assessed the interest of money loaned, provided the principal had not paid a tax. Commissions received, where no trading stock had paid assessment, rated at one fifth of value.

Boston kept up its paternal function of supplying grain in times of scarcity to its citizens. The Louisburg expedition had deranged the local markets for food, and in 1746 the town supplied wheat "for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Province."[1] Not more than 20 bushels nor less than 5 bushels, at 27*s.* old tenor, could be had in one parcel. The quantity of grain pressing on the millers caused delay in grinding, and they were warned[2] carefully that they must deliver the grists in three days at least, according to the law of 1728.

Boston suffered from a fire in 1760; a worse accident, even, than that of 1711. The newspapers claimed damages of £300,000, and the governor committed himself to "at least £100,000."[3]

The old restrictions on the admission of freemen to the municipality, and on the sale of land to outsiders, do not appear to have been relaxed generally. They were so active in Norwich, Ct., in 1751,[4] that the selectmen were directed to "prosecute with vigor" all who sold land to strangers. Such sales were declared void. Applications to remain there a limited time were often refused, or laden with burdensome conditions. These regulative acts continue as late as 1769.

Norwich enforced its statutes against moral delinquencies pretty stringently. Fines were collected for drunkenness, for not attending public worship, and for profane swearing. Sabbath-breaking by labor or vain recreation was prohibited, and laughing during worship was fined 5*s.*

[1] *Bos. Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1746; *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 15, 1746.

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Oct. 23, 1746; *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 27, 1746.

[3] Hutchinson, *Massachuseits*, iii. 80.

[4] Caulkins, *Norwich*, pp. 276–278.

New Hampshire regulated carefully the salmon and shad fishery in the Merrimac River, at the petition of Londonderry[1] in 1759. They allowed no fishing from Saturday at sunset until Monday at noon. Seines could be used only three days in the week.

New Hampshire[2] affords much interesting matter at this time in the settlement and management of half-settled towns. "Proprietors" of new towns were much hindered in the business of settlement by those who could not or would not pay their proportion of the necessary expenses. The indifferent thought their wild lands would be raised in value by the efforts of more public-spirited neighbors. A general act enabled all proprietors to assess and carry forward the work of settlement. Weak settlements appealed for release from taxes, and the Province loaned the selectmen of Bow £100.

The currency in Massachusetts.

In our discussion[3] of the inflated paper currency, we left Massachusetts filled to overflowing. The absorbing power of the people having ceased, the Province was forced to resort to a lottery for raising a paltry £7,500. The ordinary circulating medium had broken down hopelessly. Massachusetts, indeed all New England, owes much to one man at this crisis, whose pathetic downfall in later years, marks these shining services by significant contrast. The political genius of Thomas Hutchinson was far too weak for the stormy times on which he fell. While governor in the fatal years of the Stamp Act agitation, his mistaken course covered his name and memory with shame. In another field and in the period we are treating, his course was entirely different. In economic insight, in sound practical judgment of the measures of economic administration, he was much before his time. Let us duly commend the poor, exiled, broken, and dis-

Sagacity of Hutchinson.

[1] *Town Pap. N. H.*, ix. 519, 520.

[2] *Ibid.*, ix. pp. 11, 66, 126.

[3] See above, pp. 473–491.

pirited loyalist — finally execrated by his friends and neighbors — who in his earlier years brought his country out of bankruptcy, and planted her on solid economic ground.

In 1748 Hutchinson moved in the House of Representatives that the specie expected from the royal exchequer, in recompense for expenses in the capture of Louisburg, should be applied to the redemption of the treasury notes. The House at first refused utterly, then adopted the plan. There was much difference of opinion, even among the advocates of specie redemption, one with another. The historian Douglas, though opposed to a continuation of paper, thought the redemption too sudden, and dreaded the shock to trade. Merchants in England also deprecated the impending changes. Massachusetts tried without success to induce her neighbors, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to adopt a joint plan of redemption. She completed her own act of redemption, and forwarded it to William Bollan, her agent in London, for the royal approval.

In 1749[1] the specie arrived from England, with the condition that it be applied to redeem the Province notes. It consisted of £183,649 sterling, or 653,000 oz. of silver and ten tons of copper, — a huge mass of coin, more than Massachusetts had ever possessed at one time. The royal proviso proved a necessary restriction. The people had talked about redemption, yet in their hearts they believed in it but faintly. Now the worst of all fears, dread of money famine, oppressed their imagination. True, the money had been poor enough: —

> "The country maids with sauce to market come,
> And carry loads of tattered money home."

A common experience in all seasons of depreciated currencies. But the poorest money is very much better than no money. The doggerel-writers

Fears of scarcity.

[1] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 124.

pictured also the horrid void which might come in the shifting of the exchanges: —

> "To foreign lands they 'l be convey'd.
> Then what 's our fate — the silver gone,
> The paper burnt — and we undone."

Bills were hoarded in 1750 in anticipation of the redemption, when it should accomplish itself. The legislature fixed the relative value of coins and paper on the basis of 6*s.* for the Spanish milled dollar, or "piece of eight," viz., a guinea, 28*s.*; shilling, 1*s.* 4*d.*; a double johannes in gold of Portugal, £4.16; moidore, 36*s.*; pistole, 22*s.*; 3 English farthings, 1*d.*; old tenor bills, 45*s.* for 6*s.*; middle and new tenor, 11*s.* 3*d.* for 6*s.*

While the tide was turning, there was much distress.[1] In 1751, petitioners asserted that they could not get either paper or coin for labor or produce, and asked for remission of taxes. An effective riot act was passed for the first time. One party claimed that the bad trade was caused by the break in the exchange of paper money with the neighboring colonies.

The Massachusetts commissioners substantially finished the redemption in 1751. They accounted for £50,705.6.8 in old tenor, £38,431.7 in middle, £1,703,099.11.5 in new tenor.[2] Scattering bills appeared for years after. The rate of redemption was about one in specie for ten in bills.

Rhode Island hard times.

Rhode Island[3] lost still more in her commerce and business at home. Her bills depreciated about one half at once. This broke down her whole system of trade for the time. She lost a large portion of her active West India trade, and Joseph Whipple, one of her largest merchants at Newport, failed. She passed her first act in bankruptcy for his especial relief,

[1] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, ii. 627.
[2] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 131.
[3] Potter's *Currency, R. I. H. Tracts*, viii. 68.

it being the first failure of consequence the colony had known.

The hard way of transgression was fully exemplified in the experience of Rhode Island.[1] She had issued paper more heavily than Massachusetts, she had less property as a basis, and she received a smaller relative proportion of specie from England. Massachusetts had issued about £112 paper per capita; Rhode Island, about £165. To complete her payment of one tenth, Massachusetts required a tax of £3 5*s.* per capita. It was claimed that Rhode Island should have received from England £16,467, whereas she got £7,800 sterling, and with this she redeemed £88,725. To have redeemed the remainder, £461,275 outstanding, would have required a tax of nearly £14 per head. Probably this large sum could not have been collected.

The circulation of all the paper money from colony to colony did not cease altogether, though governments tried to prevent it.

I gave a list of the appraised rates of one ounce of silver in bills to the year 1727.[2] Subsequently I can quote[3] for 1728, 16*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.*; 1729, 19*s.* to 22*s.*; 1730, 21*s.* to 19*s.*; 1731, 18*s.* 6*d.* to 19*s.*; 1732, 19*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* 6*d.*; 1733, 21*s.* to 23*s.*; 1734, 24*s.* to 27*s.*; 1735, 27*s.* 6*d.*; 1736, 27*s.* to 26*s.* 6*d.*; 1737, 26*s.* 6*d.* to 27*s.*; 1738–40, 28*s.* to 29*s.*; 1741–43, 28*s.*; 1745,35*s.* to 37*s.*; 1746–48, 37*s.* to 40*s.*; 1749–52, 60*s.* Rates of silver.

The inventories[4] indicate greater fluctuations in the latter years than the above list. In 1746 we have valuations of silver at 35*s.*, 36*s.*, 38*s.*, 42*s.*, and gold at £27;

[1] *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, viii. pp. 66, 67. [2] See above, p. 473.

[3] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 135, and for table and values, see *N. Hamp. H. C.*, i. 273; *An. King's Chapel*, i. 522.

[4] *Suffolk P. R.*, xxxviii. 522–524; xxxix. 117, 160, 298, 480, 538; xl. 99, 269; xli. 259, 437; xlii. 414.

in 1747, 45*s.*, 46*s.*, 55*s.*, 60*s.*; in 1748, 55*s.*, 57*s.*; in 1749, 60*s.*

A clergyman[1] in 1747 gives the advance in a long list of household supplies, in forty years, by his accounts. The same quantities costing £1 10*s.* 10*d.* had advanced to £15 2*s.* 6*d.* in paper. There is no regular rate of expansion. Wheat went from 5*s.* to 25*s.*, Indian corn 3*s.* to 20*s.*, beef 2½*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, while men's shoes went from 5*s.* to 60*s.*

Silver preferred to gold.

In view of the disputed gold and silver standards of our day, and the low esteem in which silver is held, it is curious to read in Hutchinson[2] of the disputes in 1762. There was a fierce antipathy to gold when it was proposed to make it a standard equal to silver. Gold had been current, but not a legal tender; it was finally made a tender, after much opposition. Silver had been current at 6*s.* 8*d.* per oz., and was exported. It fell to 5*s.* 3*d.* in England, which decline checked the export. Hutchinson opposed the admission of gold to an equality with silver, claiming that it would be "the first step of our return to Egypt."

Capital scarcer than money.

But the financial troubles of Massachusetts and New England, after the capture of Quebec, consisted rather in a lack of wealth than in any new arrangement of the currency, in either or both standards. Governor Pownall might have exaggerated when he pictured the colony, not, as represented to him, "rich, flourishing, powerful, enterprizing," but as a community "ruined and undone." The exhaustion and lassitude surely succeeding paper inflation depressed colonial energies, while the sacrifices and losses of the Canadian conquest were scored deep in the wasted resources of the people.

Manufactures proper, during our present period, show little that is new or interesting in their development.

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 14, 1747. [2] *Massachusetts*, iii. 98, 99.

Manufactures.

They range in importance from woollen homespun, through rum and iron to flaxen fabrics and a few attempts at making various necessaries. The manufacture and use of homespun woollen cloth — such a prime necessity — was so thoroughly incorporated in the domestic habits of the people, that its relative industrial importance escaped much especial notice. Written testimony does not indicate the large amounts certainly produced by this diffused industry. We have seen the presence of spinning-wheels and looms in most farmsteads and many village homesteads. Dorchester altered its old powder-mill[1] into a fulling-mill, and a mill had been located in almost every hamlet.[2] The greater part of these cloths was consumed at home, or in the petty barter of neighborhoods. The governor of New York, in his report to England about 1746, says the country made and had made "their homespun, so termed, of Flax and Wool to supply themselves somewhat with necessaries of clothing."[3] Statements of this kind were always couched in the most modest terms, not to offend British manufacturers.

There are evidences that enough cloth was produced in this way to export some to the frontier districts, not yet able to produce for themselves. In a cargo of assorted goods sent from Boston to Albany in the sloop Sea Flower,[4] 1756, among the shoes, stockings, shirts, caps, and gloves there appear 200 homespun jackets. "White and striped" homespun appears in merchants' stocks in 1747 and 1748. The price was from 14*d.* to 18*d.* per yard.[5] There was a social interest and excitement concerning this homespun production, which confirms its economic importance. At the fourth anniversary in 1751 of the Boston Society for promoting Industry and Frugality, 300 "young female

[1] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 627.
[2] Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 344.
[3] *Doc. N. York*, vi. 511.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxxxix. 82.
[5] *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, xl. 294, 295; xli. 196, 197.

spinsters" spun at their wheels on the Common. Weavers were at their looms also. Advertisements called for yarn to be woven at the "Linen Manᵍ House in the Common" in 1750. Offers were made to purchase yarn at the same place.[1] Rev. Samuel Cooper,[2] a prominent divine, preached to the society in 1753, and £453 was collected on the occasion. In the same year Charlestown voted to turn its "old town-house" into a spinning-school.[3]

Spinning.

All this reveals a popular instinct for home production, groping about to increase its means and its stores. This crude social force was not yet formulated into the desire for economic independence; we shall see a manifestation of this powerful social factor ten to fifteen years later. The present movement went so far beyond its natural sphere that it was nicknamed the "spinning-craze." Another straw revealing the popular breeze is in the notice given by the "News Letter" to a deputation of 150 woolcombers in Cirencester, England,[4] who waited on the Prince and Princess of Wales journeying to Bath through their district. The men were "adorned with proper colors of combed wool." The purveyors of news in our colonies gathered but few facts from the European world in those days, and only such as most interested their public. Wool and cotton cards were made and sold by Joseph Palmer in Boston in 1746.[5]

This homespun manufacture employed hemp and flax, as well as wool, in its fabrics. Many influential citizens of Boston were enlisted in forwarding the movement for home production, which was expected to cut off importations of linens. One statement is to the effect that £15,000[6] was granted by the General Court for erecting

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 17, 1750.
[2] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 462.
[3] Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 263.
[4] *Bos. News Let.*, Nov. 29, 1750.
[5] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1746.
[6] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 381.

the spinning-house, and it was proposed that one person should come from each town for instruction. Certainly in 1757,[1] instead of a direct grant of money, the linen promoters obtained the assignment of a tax on coaches, chaises, chairs, and other carriages for the benefit of their industry. Douglas notes that the business employs a "variety of People, pulling the Flax, watering of it, breaking, swingling, hackling, spinning, weaving, &c."[2]

Linen fabrics.

These "linen" homespuns were probably flaxen warps, frequently filled with cotton weft. Cotton was constantly imported in small quantities from the West Indies. It is said that no fabrics, of cotton entirely, were made in England before 1760.[3] Even the British manufacturers were obliged to get their best linen yarns from the more thoroughly drilled spinners of the continent. Probably the great efforts made in Massachusetts to educate spinners were designed to promote the production of yarns and fabrics of a higher grade, which should outrank the homespun. But in this ultimate object they failed.

Rhode Island encouraged flax and wool, — which she had always produced freely, — with their manufacture into fabrics, in 1751. Connecticut in 1753[4] granted Hamlin & Chauncey a monopoly for fifteen years for a "water-machine" for dressing flax brought from Scotland and Ireland.

Leather.

Leather was still in use for garments. Joseph Calef,[5] a leather-dresser of Charlestown, was robbed in 1747. The burglars took a variety of sheepskins dressed for clothing. Some were "cloth-coloured for breeches, very much upon the red;" others were "cloth-coloured thin skins for gloves." Among the curi-

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 247.
[2] Douglas, *Summary*, ii. 181.
[3] Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 309.
[4] *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1753, p. 231.
[5] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 12, 1747.

osities of manufacture we cite, "To be let, Two Fulling Mills for the fulling of leather." [1]

It was easier to kick leather back and forth in a fulling-mill than it was to control its movement in value, its changes in price. The makers of this necessary article, the trusty old tanners, held meetings in 1747 at the "Greyhound Tavern," in Roxbury, "to prevent the further rise of hides and consequently of leather." [2]

Shoemaking has been in our century one of the most important industries of New England, of Massachusetts especially. Our generation has seen its evolution from a simple literal handicraft into the most complex system of machinery and organised manufacture. This array of machines, this organism of human skill working through mechanism which fairly imitates thought itself, would have perplexed the brain of Vulcan, — it would have palsied his demonic arm. Shoemaking began very early to locate itself about Essex County, Mass. But it hardly developed beyond other domestic manufactures until the middle of the eighteenth century. A few shoes were sent beyond New England to New York, Philadelphia, and other ports. When Lynn began to export, only three manufacturers employed journeymen. The father, his sons, and apprentices worked in a one-storied shop, twelve feet square, a chimney and fireplace in one corner, a cutting-board in another. Shoemaking.

In 1750 [3] a Welsh immigrant named John Adam Dagyr brought the best skill of his craft from England into the expanding market of the New World. The lift and impulse immediately given to the business was equal to the moving power of a new invention. Others learned or imitated his methods, which were celebrated throughout the land. In women's wear he was particularly accom-

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Feb. 8, 1748.
[2] *Bos. Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1747.
[3] Newhall, *Lynn*, pp. 90, 91.

plished. It was claimed in a few years that pretty feet in Lynn went prettier shod, and that the common sort trod in stronger soles, than any to be found in London.

The finer qualities were made with "white and russet rands, closely stitched with white waxed thread. The toes were very sharp and the heels were of wood, covered with leather." These seem to have been important in defining the fashion of the shoe; they were half an inch to two inches high, and were called "crosscut, common, court, and Wurtemburgh." The wooden heels were manufactured separately, like lasts. They kept in use through the century.

Iron.

As I have touched upon the manufacture of rum in its larger relations to outward commerce, we will turn from the creation of wearing apparel to the iron industry, next in consequence. Our colonies had been making some progress since 1731 in the secondary manufacture of their native iron. The chief branch of this manufacture was in the conversion of bars into nail-rods, at the "slitting mills," as they were called. Then the "tilt-hammers" worked bars into anchors and various forgings, much needed in shipbuilding. Nailrods were dovetailed into domestic manufactures, so vital in our home economy. Small nails could be imported cheaper than they could be made in the toilsome handwork, but ordinary nails and spikes were the common offwork of blacksmiths. Old diaries show many days spent in making nails. Moreover, any farmer with a skilful hand employed his winter evening leisure in shaping rods into nails by the ingleside. To supply these secondary manufactures, there were in 1650 two slitting or rolling mills in Middleboro', Mass., one in Hanover, one in Milton; and Massachusetts had one plating forge with a tilt-hammer, and one steel furnace.

Into this network of productive industry — not large as yet, but growing and affiliated to the thrifty ways of the

people — the bureaucrats of Whitehall plunged their autocratic mace, to break and destroy it. The measure was in the line of their policy, but it was rasping, and well fitted to increase the irritation of the Sugar Acts. The people had grown and increased under a loose administration of the mother country's imperial control, and they liked it.

British interference.

The Act of 1750 stated expressly that it was to encourage the importation of American bars and pigs, and to prevent erection in the colonies of any rolling-mill, etc.[1] And Great Britain was to be further benefited by the exchange of her "woolen and other manufactures" for the bars and pigs she would import. It is true that compensating advantage was expected to result to the colonies from the removal of duties from American bars and pigs going into England. But the New England men did not like the political barter. Their feeling can be understood when we read the advertisement[2] in 1753 of the slitting-mill in Milton for sale, with all its appurtenances for the manufacture of "Rod-Iron."

Massachusetts was the chief offender in the possession of these mills, though the other colonies had been taking steps to introduce them. New Hampshire had a forge for bar iron at Rumford in 1747/8.[3] Connecticut[4] gave a monopoly of slitting iron for fourteen years to Jos. Pitkin in 1747. All the colonies responded promptly in proclamations and acts for carrying into effect the will of the crown.[5]

Anglers have been the butt of wits rather than the promoters of industry; but the rod and line of Joseph Holmes, of Kingston,[6] Mass., brought

Fishing for iron.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, xx. 521; *R. I. C. R.*, v. 314.

[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 24, 1753.

[3] *N. H. H. C.*, iv. 254.

[4] *Conn. Col. Rec.* 1747, p. 329.

[5] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 30, 1750; *R. I. C. R.*, v. 315; *Conn. C. R.* 1747, p. 329; *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, vi. 7.

[6] Dr. Thacher in 1st Ser. *M. H. C.*, ix., x. 255.

fortune to his neighbors, as well as enduring fame to himself. While fishing in 1751, he discovered a deposit of bog-ore, from which 3,000 tons were soon taken, yielding 25 per cent. of iron. It became famous as "Holmes-iron" in anchors, and during the Revolution was cast into patriotic cannon-balls. Carver, near the same Plymouth district, was famed for its excellent cast-iron work. Cast tea-kettles were first made there about 1760.

Hugh Orr.

Perhaps the most conspicuous worker in iron in the eighteenth century — hence a pivot figure in American industry — was Hugh Orr, a young Scotchman, settled in Bridgewater. He was the pioneer in one of the best fields of subsequent American invention, the manufacture of edged tools. Ship-carpenters and other mechanics came to him from distant points for tools. With the versatility of the early artisans, he turned his fertile brain and ready hand to almost any work in metals. He introduced the trip-hammer. Scythes and axes followed from his creative work. He put those weapons of peace into the hands of the busy husbandman, who cut and slashed the garment of his bounteous mother Nature, yet left her smiling through her wounds.

He began at Bridgewater in 1738;[1] in the year 1748 he made 500 stand of arms for the Province. Unfortunately for us, when the British evacuated Boston, they carried away nearly all these muskets. Destiny was cheated of a proper issue when these earliest fruits of colonial enterprise were missing in the volleys that rattled down the slopes of Bunker Hill. Orr did much in casting and boring cannon for the Revolution.

Lumber.

Lumber is an important industry, though its relative importance has lessened with the improvement of the country. It is interesting to remark that New Hampshire and Maine could still afford a sufficient supply. A few rafts of boards came down the Connec-

[1] Bishop, *Hist. Manufactures*, i. 486.

ticut at Hadley before 1755. After the Peace of Paris in 1763, the Indians were freed from French influence, and the upper waters of the Connecticut afforded safer fields for industry. The business of lumbering then increased.[1]

Enterprise at Braintree.

A spirited attempt at extending the manufacturing enterprise of Massachusetts was made at Braintree about 1752 by Josiah Quincy, assisted by General Palmer and others. A colony of German immigrants [2] was imported.[3] Chocolate mills, spermaceti, and glass-works, stocking-weaving, salt-manufacturing, were all undertaken. Such heterogeneous industries could hardly thrive, and so suddenly. According to Hutchinson [4] they failed.

The making of pot and pearl ashes was stimulated and improved. Moses Lopez, a merchant at Newport, acquired the "true mystery" of the first, and obtained a monopoly for ten years of Rhode Island in 1753; James Rogers was granted the same privilege for pearl ashes in 1754.[5] Massachusetts, in 1755,[6] established an assay and standard of these articles. Samuel Blodgett began the manufacture at Haverhill [7] in 1759.

With the distilleries went sugar "bake-houses:" several grades of sugar, as "double refined, middling, and single refined loaf," "sugar candy, brown sugar." [8] The curious may find a barrel-maker's or cooper's equipment in Nathaniel Hayward's inventory.[9]

Ropewalks had long been in Boston; one appears at Newbury in 1748, the town granting land.[10]

Bounties were common for new enterprises: the Gen-

[1] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 306.
[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Nov. 15, 1751.
[3] Pattee, *Braintree*, pp. 476, 486; *Proc. M. H. S.* 1858, p. 43.
[4] *Hist. Mass.*, iii. 11.
[5] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 375.
[6] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 410.
[7] Chase, p. 338.
[8] *Bos. Gazette*, May 31, 1747.
[9] *Suffolk P. R.*, xliii. 92, 93.
[10] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 218.

eral Court gave one for making stoneware,[1] and allowed 12*d.* per pound to an expectant manufacturer of indigo.

Various attempts are recorded, with varied success: glass-making revived in 1750,[2] bayberry candle-making in 1751,[3] glue in 1752,[4] bleaching yarn or cloth in 1753.[5] Enoch Noyes, a self-taught mechanic at Newbury,[6] began making horn buttons and coarse combs in 1759. In 1788 he secured the services of a trained artisan in the person of William Cleland, a deserter, who came from Burgoyne's army. From these beginnings came many comb factories.

The general condition of agriculture probably had fallen to its lowest ebb in the first half of the eighteenth century. The natural fertility of the soil had been exhausted by a century of constant cropping. Re- Agriculture. inforcing by manures was but little practised in the interior districts, the cattle droppings being economised in a very slovenly way. Fish-planting, learned from the Indians, had aided the resources of the earth, but it prevailed only on the coast. Travellers like Kalm,[7] in 1748 and 1749, were loud in their denunciations of the colonial system, slovenly and careless, as it appeared to them. The Americans could learn nothing of "English, Swedes, Germans, Dutch, or French." Cornfields and meadows, cattle and forests, were equally condemned in their economy. Worm fences, especially, drove him wild by their waste of land and wood. "Wood is squandered," and the great winter fires, by day and by night, would soon consume what the fences left if the people did not change their habits. So little have Europeans understood the methods of Americans in extracting comfort from mother Earth!

This superficial view — of observers used to different

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 332, 395, 402.
[2] *Ibid.*, lix. 355.
[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Jan. 7, 1751.
[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 373.
[5] *Bos. Eve. Post*, July 2, 1753.
[6] Coffin, p. 225.
[7] *Travels in N. A.*, ii. 56, 79, 193.

conditions of land tenure and social organisation — went beyond the truth; yet there was reason in it, and the country was waking up to its wasteful courses. The minute clearing and careful tilth of European fields would not pay where land was always cheap, labor always dear.

Jared Eliot.

Jared Eliot, a more sagacious authority than Kalm, saw that the first efforts of our colonists, when they bent themselves "to stubb all staddles," were mistakes; that is, the good farmers were mistaken when they cleared the ground literally, grubbing out every sapling, shrub, and root which encumbered the virgin soil.

A wealthy and intelligent people would not long endure a losing and decaying agriculture. There are many indications that farming began to improve about the middle of the century. Applicants for the master's degree at Harvard laid their theses in the question,[1] "Is agriculture a greater benefit to the state than commerce?" in the years 1742, 1751, 1753, 1773, 1785, 1786, 1787. They invariably answered the question in the affirmative. No one did so much in this awakening as Rev. Jared Eliot, the grandson of John, the Indian's friend. Born in 1685, dying in 1763, he spent the most of his valuable life in pastorate at Killingworth, Ct., from 1709 until his death. Few lives mark more useful results. Science and the humanities worked together in shaping his daily life. A member of the Royal Society in London, he excelled in the philosophy of nature. No physician in New England was consulted so much in difficult cases — especially in insanity — as this parson and working farmer. Considering the difficulties of travel, the doctor's trip to Newport or Boston, sometimes taken by him, shows the urgency of the demand.

He travelled in Europe, — even as far as Russia;

Eliot's wide experience.

brought home the knowledge and practices of good agriculture, published essays; better than

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1880, p. 125.

all, bent Yankee aptitude and invention to the improvement of common farming. He found the secret of Nature's economy that stored black mud in the swamps and low fens; dragging it out, he gave new life to the worn soil. Clover-sowing for recuperation, just beginning in England, was introduced here by Eliot. In silk-culture, which has crazed New England several times, he was not so practical, as he committed himself fully to it. After trial he stated that silk could be produced as easily as linen; evidently he did not perceive the satire involved, as both have vexed New England. He claimed that the mulberry-tree was fit for firewood, with good fruit, equal to cedar for timber, excellent for shade. About the same time one Phillips was bringing eggs from Philadelphia to Charlestown, Mass., and producing silk there.[1]

Clover, thus introduced by Eliot, made its way in farming economy very gradually. The western Massachusetts men bought it for the first time in 1757, sending to Boston for it through a Northampton neighbor.[2] The price in Hadley was 1*s.* 4*d.* per pound in 1762. In 1765 foul meadow seed was 7*d.* per quart, and herdsgrass 10*d.* per pound. Foul meadow, herdsgrass, and clover seed were sold in 1765. Grass seeds, clean or in chaff, were thus used about these dates; but Mr. Judd, a high authority, thinks the use was not general in the river towns until after the War of the Revolution. These towns were hardly behind other rural parts of New England in agriculture.

A severe drought in 1749 made a great scarcity in that year and the one following. Kalm[3] said the worms left so little grass that New England was forced to import hay from Pennsylvania, and even from Great Britain. "English Hay" was quoted in Dorchester at £3 to £3 10*s.*[4] old tenor per hundred. This may have been hay from England, but in view of other facts, I

Scarcity of hay.

[1] Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 260.
[2] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 371.
[3] *Trav. N. A.*, ii. 79.
[4] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 315.

think it the old descriptive term still in use to define cultivated grasses, in distinction from native. Butter was 7*s.* 6*d.* at the same place and time. The ships from Ireland brought a little choice butter[1] occasionally, and Cheshire cheese,[2] as always, varied the Rhode Island supply in Boston market. Welsh butter also appears.

Massachusetts wished to restore her wheat product, which she had enjoyed in the first generation or two. Looking toward this she made, in 1754, one of the few futile attempts at limiting intercolonial traffic by putting a duty of 9*d.* per hundred on flour, 10*d.* on ship's-bread, with other bread in proportion. It was to be paid as a bounty to growers of wheat. The duty could not counteract climate and soil, nor feed the fishermen.

While flax was almost a necessity, — used in all linen, and in the warp of so-called "cotton" fabrics, — it could be cultivated in our colonies. Outlying districts, like the Maine coasts, raised it with corn and their grass crop.[3] Rhode Island was continually tinkering her flax bounties, making and repealing them.[4]

Horses were grown and exported. Probably they still ran on the commons of the remote towns, though they are not mentioned, as in the seventeenth century. Bennett noted the poor kind and condition of the common draught-horses of Boston, though there were good ones for carriage and saddle. Sir Peter Warren sent through Sir William Pepperell to Massachusetts, in 1750, two horses "to mend the breed."[5] A committee received and assigned them in the Province. At this time the common price in Hampshire County was £7 to £32; a few brought £40. Parson Williams, of Hadley, owned the best of his region; value in 1754, £66⅔.

Horses.

The inventory of John Walworth, of New London,[6] in

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 4, 1758. [2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1754.
[3] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 647.
[4] *R. I. C. R.*, v. 100, 318. [5] *Mass. Arch.*, i. [6] Caulkins, p. 345.

1748, shows the arrangement of a well-to-do farmer's estate, and the proportions of a stock farm at the same time. He had four negro servants, 77 ounces silver plate, about 50 head of horned cattle, 812 sheep, 32 horses, mares, and colts.

Oxen and horses were both used in farm labor. The farmers plaited collars of straw and of corn husks for their horses. When Jared Eliot brought the "horse hoe" from England, he drew it with oxen. He spread their yoke so that the pair bestrode one row of corn.

Premiums were offered in Pennsylvania in 1753 for draining marsh lands, for the most clover from a meadow, for weaving linen and spinning thread. The example was commended for Massachusetts.[1] Gardening and the cultivation of small vegetables was generally conducted by the skilful and industrious women of New England. Hotbeds were used in 1759.[2]

I mentioned the extra value of salted beef, and the difficulties in disposing of fresh beef, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. A slaughter-house is noted at Salem in 1748.[3]

Bears and wolves had not ceased to plague the husbandman. Beverly, Mass.,[4] had the latter, and Bruin was hunted in the upper Narragansett country.[5]

Social economy was much influenced in the eighteenth century by lotteries. They prevailed before and since, but schemes were more active in this present period of colonial life. The idea was not new or local. Italy, ancient and modern, delighted in it; the Germans quickly adopted such easy gaming. The state formerly coquetted with it everywhere. This semi-barbarous mode of taxing individual passion to benefit the public exchequer prevails largely now in continental Europe. The

Lotteries.

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 25, 1753.
[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Feb. 12, 1759.
[3] Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 206.
[4] *Beverly*, p. 318.
[5] *Newport H. Mag.*, i. 123.

United States has expelled it, except in one or two Southern States.

The lottery was in essence not ours; the genius of our colonies was opposed to this method of making money. It has been defined as the only method by which laziness and avarice — those opposite and contradictory emotions — can combine and satisfy each other. It is lazier than gaming, that deep-seated human passion. Morally, the genuine New Englander disliked this dealing in chance; intellectually, he was not convinced that he could make money with the chances against him. Even if his conscience could be silenced, he was too shrewd to play with dice which were loaded against him. A calculation recorded[1] by one of the Curwins — sagacious Salem merchants — in 1757. shows the drift of this intelligence. He says "Boston Lottery No. 7," an average scheme, puts the buyer at 50 per cent. disadvantage for all prizes under £50. Consequently he must buy 164 tickets, or 5 tickets per year for $32\frac{4}{5}$ years, to get an even chance of drawing £50. In another illustration, his chance of drawing £50 or more with one ticket is $\frac{1}{2388}$, which is the chance "y^{t} a Man of 48 years has to die in 2 m^{ts}, or one of 21 years in 5 months.

Yet the lottery played an important part when the business of taxes and the art of carrying public burdens was crude and ill-defined. Probably the course of Great Britain in legitimating the lottery in 1709 promoted its growth in this country. Whenever a road or bridge was to be built, street paved, or any uncommon public work undertaken, the tickets flew plenty and fast. Debts were lifted,[2] fire losses liquidated,[3] every kind of public indulgence[4] was granted in the form of this "snare laid for

[1] *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

[2] *Conn. Col. Rec.* 1755, p. 431; *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 161.

[3] *Conn. C. R.* 1759, p. 217.

[4] *Conn. Col. R.* 1753, p. 218; 1761, p. 600; 1764, p. 307; *R. I.*

the people." They were universal; Rhode Island had attempted to suppress them in 1733, but she had some 30 schemes afloat in twelve years, 1757–69.[1] Massachusetts advertised three in one newspaper.[2] The small schemes generally paid $1,000 to $2,000 profit. Faneuil Hall, into whose walls much of the good and evil of New England has been cemented, when burned in 1761, was rebuilt by lottery.

Roads and travelling.

Little change appears in the improvement of roads or the conveniences for travel. Connecticut opened a toll-bridge over the Housatonic at New Milford in 1756,[3] and in 1761 allowed county courts to lay bridges between any two towns. Chaises and their counterparts, open "chairs," were in common use in the towns and older districts. The tax list for 1753 showed 1 chariot, 13 chaises, 71 chairs in Charlestown.[4] In the lists of "several years," the same town had 6 coaches, 11 chariots, 326 chaises, 970 chairs.[5] But Haverhill[6] had no chairs, or chariots, with 1 chaise, in 1753, 7 calashes in 1753, 9 do. in 1754, 18 do. in 1755, 13 do. in 1756, 15 do. in 1757. The calash must have been popular to have increased so rapidly. It was a rude vehicle, a very clumsy open seat set on a low and clumsy pair of wheels. The chaise was large and square-topped, set on heavy wheels. The women still rode on horseback to the villages for "trading." In the far-away districts, chaises were a curiosity. Judge Paine passed through Wells, Me., in one in 1755. All the village thronged to "Kimble's" tavern to see it.[7]

King's Chapel was built of stone in Boston, 1749.

C. R., v. 304; *Newport H. M.*, ii. 250; iii. 199; *New Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 517, 708, 743; *Mass. Arch.*, lxxxviii. 62; *N. E. Weekly Jour.*, Oct. 2, 16, 1732.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 478; vi. 618. [2] *Bos. News Let.*, Dec. 27, 1759.
[3] *Conn. C. R.* 1756, pp. 465, 570. [4] *Mem. H. Bos.*, ii. 322.
[5] Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 262. [6] Chase, p. 335.
[7] Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 661.

When we think of the present achievements in building of granite, and the enormous industries quarrying and working granite all about New England, this pioneer enterprise has a peculiar interest. The great quarries which shake and stir the bowels of Quincy began in the boulders of Braintree pastures, or South and North Commons. To get broken stone for the walls of King's Chapel they heated these boulders by large fires laid on them, then smashed them by large iron balls dropped from above.[1]

General customs.

The manners and customs of the people moved upon the lines struck out a generation earlier. Houses changed very little, common dwellings not at all; while the ample style of family mansions prevailing at Boston and Newport in the first quarter of the century, described heretofore, was continued in the large towns.[2] According to Drake,[3] there were more of these built about 1750 by wealthy individuals than the prosperity and general condition of the community would justify.

Dress.

The same general statement would apply to the dress of the time. Wigs had become almost universal, and we drop a tear to Judge Sewall's memory as we perceive how little his precept and opposition availed in combating the fashion. Yet an occasional purist held to the old paths and his own natural locks. In 1752 the Newbury[4] brethren disciplined one for refusing communion "for no other reason but because the pastor wears a wigg and the church justifies him in it." This they thought altogether too independent, and "contrary to that humility which becomes a christian."

Marblehead had its own peruke-maker in the person of Thomas Coes.[5] His shop was broken open in 1755, and eight brown and three gray wigs stolen. One of the gray

[1] Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 498.

[2] See *Mem. H. Bos.*, ii. 521, 527; Mason, *Rem. Newport*, pp. 365, 391; Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 196.

[3] *History of Middlesex*, p. 316.

[4] Coffin, p. 220.

[5] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Jan. 20, 1755.

ones had a "feather'd top." Some were "bordered with narrow red ribband, some with purple." There were "silk cauls." James Mitchell[1] in Boston had white wigs and "grizzels" of any fashion; £20 old tenor for the best, "light grizzels at £15, dark grizzels at £12.10."

The complete wardrobe of a gentleman may be seen in the inventory[2] of Colonel Job Vassall, at Cambridge. He had many suits: velvet coats with gold lace, flowered silk coats, scarlet coats and breeches to match, white ribbed stockings, laced hats, a variety of arms, with a watch, were necessary parts of such equipment; in this case there was a "watch and silver watch." Gold watches are often recorded. The dress of the ordinary solid citizen was similar, without the gold lace. Suits are valued in the currency of 1747 and 1748 at £20 to £50, in one case £60.[3] A Norwich, Ct., dame had gowns of striped and of plaid stuff, of silk crape, of blue camlet; scarlet and blue cloaks; a satin-flowered mantle; hoods of all sorts, including velvet; caps and aprons in great number; a silver girdle and a blue one. In jewelry, with the inevitable rings, were a gold necklace and locket, gold sleeve-buttons, silver "hair peg," and coat clasps.[4]

Almost all the runaways, negroes, "white men servants," "Irish lads," and other fugitives wore leather breeches.[5] In one case a "runaway Indian girl"[6] wore smoked-leather breeches. Tow cloth and homespun appear in the costumes of these waifs and strays, though the dress generally consists of cast-off garments of better material.

Indentured servants were a constant factor in the social system. They were coming into the country under one or another form of service. In 1746 Indentured servants.

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Jan. 28, 1754. [2] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1858, p. 65.

[3] *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, xl. 233; xli. 274; xlii. 170.

[4] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 333.

[5] *Bos. Gazette*, July 24, 1746; Dec. 15, 1747; Feb. 16, 1748; April 12, 1748; *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 7, 1751.

[6] *Bos. Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1746.

Robert Galton advertises in Boston, with various goods, "a few boy servants indentured for seven years, and girls for four years."[1] In 1750 a number of Irish servants are "to be sold;" the men are mechanics, the women fit for either town or country.[2] Unexpired service under indenture was offered for sale,[3] like any other article of value.

The few paupers existing under the favorable conditions of life in our towns were made comfortable and supported carefully at the public expense.[4]

The chief source of entertainment, in the monotonous lives of these people, was in the general training-day. All classes mustered, and, in fulfilling a public duty important to the citizen, each in his own way managed to derive considerable enjoyment for himself. Dancing was taught occasionally, and the manners of the better classes felt its softening influence. Plays were acted in Boston at times.[5] The actors were chiefly British subordinate officers, who eked out a scanty income by these efforts. Their superiors rather encouraged the practice, as it varied garrison life and made the soldiers more contented. But the old Puritan spirit took alarm. In 1750 the General Court passed an act prohibiting all theatrical entertainments, supported by stringent penalties.

Amusements.

In such a dearth of public amusement we can appreciate the particular attention given to those exceptional persons whose gifts enabled them to entertain their fellows. There were battles of wit and humor, engaging whole communities as interested spectators. In 1756[6] two contestants, Jonathan Gowen, of Lynn, and Joseph Emerson, of Reading, met by appointment at a tavern in

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, March 7, 1746.
[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 14, 1750.
[3] *Ibid.*, March 9, 1747.
[4] *Hist. Rowley*, p. 406.
[5] See *Mag. Am. Hist.*, iii. 638.
[6] Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 331.

Saugus. The audience thronged, and they were obliged to adjourn to an open field. After a doughty fight, Emerson went home, in the despairing depths of chagrin which only beaten wits know. The recorder says that Gowen's wit was "beyond all human imagination." The ministers were frequently humorous, and always had a ready audience for a good saying. One Fast-Day morning Joseph Moody, an old member of the profession, went under the window of a young candidate, crying out, "Daniel! Daniel Little! The birds are up and praising God, and you are here asleep. You have the sins of a whole nation to confess to-day and yet are asleep."[1]

Tea-parties were gradually establishing themselves. At first the gossiping dames each carried her cup, saucer, and spoon, but soon the husbands began to bewail the investment of the "enormous sums of 30 or 40 shillings in tea equipages."[2] Father Flynt, a bachelor tutor at Harvard, records an interesting journey in a chair from Cambridge to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1754.[3] When introduced to Mrs. Rogers, a daughter of President Leverett, he gallantly said, "Madam, I must buss you," and gave her a hearty kiss. His hostess asked him if he would have tea strong or weak. "He answered, "*Strong* of the *tea*, *strong* of the *sugar*, and *strong* of the *cream*."

In the dull round of every-day life, the young people sought excitement in the experiences of courtship, always new and interesting to the parties concerned in every generation. In 1750 one William Tyler writes Andrew Pepperell, at Kittery Point, of the doings of Joel Whittemore[4] on a visit to Boston to seek favor in the eyes of a certain "Miss Hannah." He stayed a week, sighing

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 708.

[2] Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 44. [3] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1878, p. 5.

[4] Parsons, *Life of Pepperell*, p. 220; and see Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 131, for curious love-letter in 1759.

and seeking, though it does not appear that he obtained speech with the lady. His "wig was powdered to the life." The point of the letter was in the fact that any swain could go through so much, obtaining so little.

Their expression of faith.

The manners of the time were more or less influenced by deeper currents of social force proceeding from the very springs of belief, and affected by the formal offices of religion. A faith — half trust in the living God, half blind superstition fearing an unseen power ever meddling in human affairs — moved the sluggish mental atmosphere of this period. The Pepperells had an only son, Andrew, their heir and hope. He was to continue the exotic baronetcy planted in the wilds of New Hampshire, and was to rear the estate founded by the sturdy pioneers and shipbuilders into a feudal manor. Attacked by typhoid fever, fatal in the end, he lay at the point of death. It is pathetic to read the frantic appeals of father and mother seeking to avert the coming event. They sent a swift messenger bearing an open letter to Rev. Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, Dr. Chauncy, and other ministers of Boston,[1] . . . "the holy, just and good God is come out against us in his holy anger." They beseech them "to pray! pray! pray for us." And the messenger was to communicate the urgency of the case to "Christian friends along the road." It was generally held in New England that the mighty fortress of Louisburg was delivered into the hands of the faithful in direct answer to their prayers. The same belief asked, Why should not one poor life, a life so much needed to perpetuate human glory, be granted to these half Puritans, these half-feudal aristocrats?

Manners always responsive to every touch of grief or joy sympathise with this mournful event. Old England gave social laws to New, and the hearts of grieving father and mother must have been soothed when they learned of

[1] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 233.

the excellent form in which the London ladies mourned with them in the loss of this only son. Sir William Pepperell sent Lady Warren — wife of Sir Peter — and Mrs. Kilby, in London, each a mourning ring. Mr. Kilby accepted "that melancholy token of y^r^ regard to Mrs. K. and myself, at the expense of four guineas in the whole. But, as it is not unusual here on such occasions, Mrs. K. has, at her own expense, added some sparks of diamonds to some other mournful ornaments to the ring, which she intends to wear." [1]

Seating the congregation.

The practice of seating the congregation in the meeting-house, so important in working out the social organism of former times, becomes rare in this period. Indeed, in the older districts, we lose the traces of it. Groton in 1755 [2] erected pews and granted them "unto thirty-seven of the highest payers, exclusive of polls." The pew-holders paid £133.6.8 in return. Brimfield, a frontier town of Hampden County, Mass., settled in the second quarter of the century, seated the congregation in 1757.[3] It was done elaborately, in the old manner, by a committee, and the results were accepted by a vote of the town. Two years later, six women obtained leave to erect a pew at their own cost, "because we are so crowded," and because it would "beautify" the house.

Education [4] was not neglected in the general advance of comfortable living and expenditure. Yale College [5] extended its facilities in 1746 by erecting a building 100 × 40 feet, three stories, of brick, the best in Connecticut at the time. Abraham Redwood founded the library bearing his name, in 1747, at Newport.[6] Others con-

[1] Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 238.
[2] Butler, *Groton*, pp. 148, 149.
[3] *Hist. Brimfield*, p. 304.
[4] For list of school-books, see Felt, *Salem*, i. 486.
[5] Trumbull, *Conn.*, ii. 312.
[6] Douglas, *Summary*, ii. 100; *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 67.

tributed, but he gave £500 sterling in books. Stephen Hopkins helped to found a library at Providence in 1754.

The social development of our history in the eighteenth century was much affected by two master minds. The fame of these minds went far beyond their own country, and they would have been remarkable in any time and in any country. Jonathan Edwards lived from 1703 to 1758; Benjamin Franklin lived from 1706 to 1790; and they were in a limited sense contemporary. The metaphysician died early, having confined himself to one vocation, — the study of theology and the treatment of moral issues. The philosopher lived long and wide, dealing with all the issues of practical living. The deep and subtle thinker sought for the source of Being itself in its relation to mankind. The large thinker found the outcome of Being in the relations of men one with another; through the genius of common sense he sought for that organism of society which is the track of Being among human kind. Edwards preached and wrote from 1727 to 1758; Franklin published "Poor Richard" from 1732 to 1757. This tract of every-day philosophy circulated 10,000 copies sometimes in a single year. That was an immense number for the time and circumstances, and the positive influence was correspondingly great.

Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin.

Born of the best native stock, at East Windsor, Ct., Edwards was graduated at Yale College in 1720.[1] He continued his studies for a time, then preached some eight months in New York. Returned to Yale and became a tutor for two years. Commenced his pastorate at Northampton, Mass., in 1727, continuing it until 1750. Then he spent about eight years as pastor in a small church, and also as missionary to the Indians in Stockbridge. He was installed as President of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, and died about five weeks afterward.

[1] Edwards's *Works*, Memoir in, i. 19 *et seq.*

Genius is always original, but here was originality of the most subtle kind.[1] In a new country, with comparatively poor opportunities for learning, he soon outstripped old scholars and dwellers in the great universities. His mind took in the largest ideas and held them firmly. Reading Locke at fourteen, he could grapple with the mature philosopher and overthrow him in some of his positions. There was precocity, and something beyond mere precocity, in his thought. Taught from boyhood to read and think, pen in hand, he wrote his way through thickets of thought, astonishing in a youth of any time. He was a keen observer in natural science in his youth, and reasoned out many principles afterward discovered by experiment. A profound mathematician, so far as he went, he suppressed a keen wit and a potential imagination under the iron bands confining the preacher of his time. Before he attained his majority he worked out a system of idealism in philosophy on lines parallel to those of Berkeley, and it seems to be well established that he moved in complete independence of Berkeley.[2]

Genius of Edwards.

In his youth he wrote out a series of resolutions for practical guidance in his daily life. The moral insight revealed here, the heroism at work in subduing his own self into harmony with the Divine Will as he conceived it, — all this is as remarkable as the intellectual discipline above described. "To live with all my might while I do live;" "Never to do anything out of revenge;" "To examine carefully and constantly what that one thing in me is, which causes me in the least to doubt of the love of God, and to direct all my forces against it," [3] — it is not in any one of these bold sentences, but in the spirit shining through all of them, that we discover the true nature of the man. Occasionally — very rarely — some puerility

[1] See Prof. Tyler's admirable sketch of Edwards, *Hist. Am. Lit.*, ii. 177.

[2] Tyler, *Hist. Am. Lit.*, ii. 183.

[3] Edwards's *Works*, i. 68, 69.

of the seventeenth century exegesis crops out, as, "I think Christ has recommended rising early in the morning by his rising from the grave very early."[1] We should consider the littleness of the literature that went before him, in estimating the greatness of his ascent out of it into a higher and purer realm.

Of feeble body and delicate health, Edwards kept at work by rigid temperance. He worked with unflinching industry, spending about thirteen hours a day in his study. He was a very productive writer, and economised his mental force in every possible way. As I have mentioned, he read pen in hand, not merely to acquire knowledge, but to create new thought out of his own teeming mind. So, as he rode out for recreation, he pinned a bit of paper on his coat to mark a line of thought, and another and another; when at home again, he recorded the results, following these tags of his memory. In the evening he took genuine recreation in cheerful converse with his family, rising between four and five in the morning for work in his study.

Shortly after his settlement at Northampton, he married Sarah Pierrepont, descended like himself from the best clerical stock. It was a very happy union, and their children numbered eleven. She was an accomplished woman and a most capable wife. She conducted the affairs of the family, leaving him free for his professional work.

His preaching.

The preaching[2] of this veritable apostle was powerful, as we might expect. He was in the presence of Deity itself, and he brought his hearers into that presence with him. Remorsely calm, leaning on the Bible and holding his small, close-written notes in his left hand, he made hardly a gesture with his right except to turn the leaves. But what horrors have men witnessed done in the name of God! This clear logician and kind father could say, "The God that holds you over the pit

[1] Edwards's *Works*, i. 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 604–607.

of hell . . . abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. . . . You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder."[1] "If you cry to God to pity you, He will be so far from pitying you in your doleful case, or showing you the least regard or favor, that instead of that, He will only tread you under foot."

His ministry at Northampton lasted about twenty-three years, and after a controversy with the parish he was dismissed. The difficulty began in a point of morals[2] and ended in a point of doctrine. In the latter, the communion had been administered by Edwards's predecessor, his grandfather Stoddard, as a "converting ordinance." The church had opened wide its doors, and welcomed all it could help. This freedom did not accord with the ideas of our severe follower of John Calvin. Edwards preached against the practice, and his congregation turned against him.

It does not appear that his ministry was successful, on the whole. The enthusiasm of his biographers causes them to blink the obvious facts as they occurred. The majesty of Edwards's nature and character was such, his fame was so lustrous, that the narrators have assumed that he must have been right. The business of a parish priest is to make his flock into better men and better women. If he fails to adapt his preaching to the wants of these men and women at that time, his mission is a failure. Other men and other conditions may derive other results from that mission, but that does not change the principle.

Edwards flashed like a meteor through the theology and through the mental development of that time. The light he shed has not faded yet. But the power of transfus-

[1] Edwards's *Works*, vii. 171.

[2] It is hardly credible that the facts in this affair of morals are all stated, or correctly stated.

ing his own exalted life into the lives of other and lesser persons was not in him, as his experience with his parish after twenty-three years of teaching shows. Men do not accomplish final success unless the whole man works toward the successful end. That balance of mind and character we call judgment was lacking in him.

His mysticism.

As was to be expected, he saw visions or "views," as he terms them. "The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent, with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception — which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour. . . . I have several other times had views very much of the same nature, and which have had the same effects."[1]

When other people had trances and visions, he sometimes thought Satan took the advantage of them.[2]

Miracles appeared in orderly succession; not only in the general course of great affairs, as on "God's so extraordinarily appearing to baffle"[3] the French at Cape Breton, or "the dreadful hand of Heaven" ruining the French East India trade, — these were far-off Providences, — but Northampton had its own special ones. The social atmosphere there was so surcharged that it welcomed miracle as the murky air of an August afternoon opens to the thunderbolt. In the crowded church, the overstrained or rotten timbers of the gallery gave way, burying the congregation in a terrible crash. Nobody was killed. The shaken matter did not follow the common laws of gravitation; our author saw the facts and knew, as he supposed. "It seems unreasonable to ascribe it to anything else but the care of Providence in disposing the motions of every piece of timber, and the precise place of safety where every one should sit and fall."[4]

Devils and angels were almost equally nimble in their attendance upon our worthy forefathers. Satan took pos-

[1] Edwards's *Works*, i. 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

session of most revivals before they were concluded. But the angels, as some compensation, would possess the soul of a child of four years, and make a "true convert," as in the case of Phebe Bartlett.[1]

His publications.

Edwards's first publication was a sermon printed in 1731. He printed others from time to time. But the chief sources of his influence were in his occasional preaching, as the churches always welcomed him, and in his direct contact with the clergy. His more elaborate and formal treatises were not published until the very last of his life, or after his death. But he became a great influence during his life and through his preaching.

Though his preaching was great and his written thought was powerful, the man was greater than all he did. Two kinds of great men take hold of human affairs. In the one, Napoleon Bonaparte seized upon the movement of his time like a Titan, and bent it to his will. But the more we know of him, the less the man appears to have been. In the other, like Edwards, times change and systems fall, but the man, being near to God, grows higher and larger as knowledge enlarges.

His idea of nature.

Edwards thought and wrote in a time when very crude ideas of nature and the external world prevailed. Science had not then developed those great categories into which worlds, and even a universe of worlds, fall in divine order. Yet his conception of the order of nature was very high and large. In his diary he said: "There seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, an appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. . . . And scarce anything among all the works of nature was so sweet to me as thunder and lightning; formerly nothing had been so terrible to me."

Thus he brought his conceptions of nature into harmony with his own soul. In a similar manner be brought his

[1] Edwards's *Works*, i. 123.

ideas of the sovereignty of God in the human soul into an ordered dependence which was peace itself. Writing in his diary of his matured sense of God's sovereignty, he said: "I have often since had not only a conviction, but a *delightful* conviction. The doctrine has very often appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God. But my first conviction was not so." [1]

His political influence.

This brings us to the main motive in treating the work of Edwards in this connection. He did not touch politics directly. What he might have done twenty years later we cannot know. As it was, he kept aloof from political surroundings. But consider the effect of this pulpit teaching on the political development of the generation following him. The men who were to meet Grenville and George III. were bred in this high conception of the individual man. An absolute sovereign ruled in every heart that was touched by Edwards's sublime humility. Were individuals bred in this way likely to submit kindly to absolutism of the human and temporal sort? Would subjects ruled directly by the Almighty train readily in the harness of any vicegerent on earth, even though he might wear a king's crown?

Franklin.

The facts of Benjamin Franklin's life are very well known. Attention has been concentrated on his romantic boyhood, his philosophical career, and the diplomatic distinction of his later years. Beyond all this, I would consider his remarkable sagacity in the conduct of affairs, — little as well as great, — and his influence in educating the common American citizen. While his manhood was spent outside New England, he was born and bred here, and probably could not have been bred anywhere else. He is the most illustrious example of the transplanted and elevated Yankee, so many of whom have gone from our district. Born in Boston in 1706, a

[1] Edwards's *Works*, i. 60.

family quarrel drove him to Philadelphia in 1723. An episode, which reads like the "Arabian Nights," sent him to London in 1724, to buy a printer's outfit.[1] Deceived and disappointed in the help promised him, he worked there at his handicraft for eighteen months. If deceived by others, he could depend on himself, and returned accomplished in his art. In 1727 he commenced business for himself, and was successful, attaining first competence, then wealth. In 1736 he appears in general politics. In 1742 he invented the Franklin stove, and in 1746 began experiments in electricity. In 1753 he was appointed postmaster general by the British government, and in 1757 went to England as the agent of Pennsylvania.

No one ever worked more thoroughly from his own centre outward, or brought himself into closer contact with his fellows thereby. He knew little of the training of schools. Books he devoured passionately. Then he assimilated their lessons of experience to the life within himself, and to the life of those around him. Everett said he was "master, not of arts, but of the art of arts."

Like all men out of the heart of New England, his nature was essentially religious. He "never doubted the existence of a Deity; that He made the world and governed it by his providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crimes will be punished and virtue rewarded either here or hereafter. These I esteemed the essentials of every religion; and being to be found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, though with different degrees of respect."[2] These principles should be considered, not only for their effect upon Franklin, but for their power in affecting his influence on others. Working by his "singular felicity of induction," he found from these principles that "*truth*, *sincerity*, and

[1] *Autobiography*, Harper's edition, p. 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

integrity in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life."[1] On these foundations, together with industry, clear vision of his object, imaginative power leading himself and others to it, and courage in pursuing his conviction, was reared the great fabric of Franklin's life.

His wonderful style.

His lucid and agreeable style was formed on an odd volume of the "Spectator,"[2] during his apprenticeship in Boston. His solid studies of this classic affected all his writing afterwards. Socrates, in Xenophon's rendering, affected his method of thinking as well as his expression. His newspaper was an essential part of his printing business, and afterwards of his political career. But the novel literary engine that brought him into close contact with the common people was "Poor Richard's Almanac"; with its annual circulation of ten thousand copies for about sixteen years. In the year 1757 he gathered the proverbs and sententious maxims and printed them together. "The piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the American continent; reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France."[3]

"Poor Richard."

Many of them[4] have become ingrained in the common thought and speech of New England by a century and a half of use. All move like rifle-shots. "We are taxed twice as much (*i. e.* as by the government) by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly. . . . But dost thou love life? then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of. . . . Drive thy business, let not that drive thee. . . . He that hath a trade hath an estate. . . . A fat kitchen makes a lean will.

[1] *Autobiography*, Harper's edition, p. 98.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[4] Franklin's *Works*, Sparks's edition, ii. 95 *et seq.*

> "Many estates are spent in the getting,
> Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,
> And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting."

"Many a little makes a mickle. . . . Lying rides upon Debt's back. . . . Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other." Industry, temperance, frugality, all the virtues, move together in concrete excellence through this homely calendar. The author says these maxims contain the wisdom of many ages and nations. They reveal not simply the economy and sagacity of Benjamin Franklin; he adapted the experience of others to experience of his own; out of the whole he drew maxims for wise action. We shall see in his political career the same facility of leading and following in the affairs of the state.

It was not by accident that Franklin selected for his example of Poor Richard, in his analysis of its purport, the following: "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright." This sagacious observation and its kindred principles gave him great influence over the New England mind. He was profoundly convinced that in wealth there is weal. It was not power or comfort, but virtue, that inhered in economy. When a poor man, twenty-three years old, publishing the "Pennsylvania Gazette," some of his patrons complained of the conduct of the journal. He invited them to supper, and provided water and two coarse meal puddings, commonly called "sawdust." The diet was too coarse for them, and he said, "My friends, any one who can subsist as I can on sawdust puddings and water, needs no man's patronage."[1]

His citizenship.

But I would consider the political career of this philosopher, not in diplomacy and the larger statecraft, but in legislation and active citizenship. Journalism leads naturally to political life in America, and in 1736 he was made clerk of the Assembly of the

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 108.

Province. He was a controlling member of the "Junto," an affiliated association of clubs, admirably arranged for disseminating political ideas.[1] The city watch was a miserable affair of village constables. He reformed that and gave it order. He organised a fire department. There was in Pennsylvania, in 1744, "no provision for defence, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college." He established the "Philosophical Society," a permanent institution. The most remarkable public service he rendered was in beginning the volunteer movement. The Quaker Assembly, though repeatedly urged by the governor, absolutely refused to enact a militia law; while the Spanish and French war was actually going on.

Franklin began a subscription for volunteers; the number soon swelled to 10,000, who armed themselves as they could, then organised and drilled. He was offered the colonelcy of the Philadelphia regiment, but declined. With a committee he went to New York and borrowed 18 eighteen-pound guns, with their munitions, which were soon mounted in batteries. The same executive power in leading a people was shown a few years later, when Braddock's expedition was being formed. The general could obtain only 25 wagons, declared "his expedition was then at an end," and inveighed against the ministry that sent him to such a country without transportation for his army on land. Franklin procured him 150 wagons with teams and 259 carrying horses in a few days. After Braddock's defeat it was the printer, editor, and nascent philosopher alone who could command upon the frontier of Pennsylvania, and restore order to that frightened region. He raised troops and built a line of forts.

It would be easy to multiply these details. This philosopher was before all, a man of action. This high priest

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 161 *et seq.*

of utilitarianism was a passionate youth. While his youth was romantic, his manhood and old age were devoted to the most serious and weighty business of his fellow-men.

He was an honest man. It may be doubted whether honor, the pearl of great price, can be evolved from the system of Poor Richard. But whatever Franklin did under pressure of circumstance, he did for his country, and not for his own advancement. It has been charged that he yielded too much and too often to expediency in dealing with others. We must consider the occasion. He was constrained by a great political necessity, and forced to yield in parts that he might maintain the whole of his country's larger interest. The most striking proof of his integrity under the grip of circumstance is in his account of his appearance before the Privy Council of England. He was arraigned before this august tribunal to answer for his conduct of colonial affairs in 1773. He was both the subject of the crown and the representative of the crown's dependencies.

Honesty and truth.

We must remember the characteristic features of the occasion. The majesty of the throne inhered in this council; the dignity of all the great offices of the state was concentrated there. Thirty-five lords, the largest number ever assembled, met to frown down this world-renowned citizen; too proud for a subject, not yet enlarged into a rebel. Abuse was intended and was fully administered by Wedderburn, a master of invective. He called Franklin a man of three letters, the Roman joke for thief. The great lords laughed frequently and cried "Hear." Directly after, he was publicly removed from his office of postmaster-general for America. The next day after this dramatic scene Franklin told a friend that he had "never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for that, if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted as one

of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the like circumstances, he could not have supported it."[1] The very simplicity of truth, the excellence of integrity! A man given over to expediency would have crumbled under the shock.

His mastery of self.

It was through the mastery of himself that Franklin maintained the integrity which enabled him to stand before kings. His philosophy of economy — so dear to the people — tended toward subjection of self. Desires of all kinds were subjected to a higher control, and that was outside one's self.

The contrast is immense between the idealist Jonathan Edwards and the realist Benjamin Franklin. But they worked toward one and the same end, the elevation of the individual man in himself and through himself. The greatest possible idea — God — was brought by Edwards within reach of the common mind. He transfused his "delightful conviction" into the desire of the common people. Franklin, the ready man of affairs, lifted every common thing into importance, illuminated common sense with inspiration, and left the commoner a higher and better man. Institutions of government, kings, and ministers might go astray. But the every-day citizen, whom Franklin had taught, would rely on his higher self, though his instituted supports might fail. These thoughts — this rendering of the ideas of Edwards and of Franklin into the common education of the common people — necessarily anticipates the coming of another generation. That generation belongs in its development to our next period.

Last days of economic prosperity.

We leave this present period, sluggish, prosperous in material things, — the last days of economic prosperity in the eighteenth century. Its interest lies not so much in economic development or change as in the smouldering political forces that underlaid the common business of every-day life. The depend-

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 446.

ent burghers and burgesses were straining at the hard shells of custom, and preparing unconsciously for the inevitable outburst into the larger life of American citizens. The new generation is pressing in. We shall soon see the farmers, erect on their own soil, rising into proud freemen; and we shall welcome the trading burgesses, growing under their new responsibility into the thews and sinews of a mighty state.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STAMP ACT AND REBELLION.

1763–1775.

The Peace of Paris left the New England colonies with the same people which had enlisted in a war lasting nine years, but that people was changed by a knowledge of its own strength and resources. The common effort and sacrifice taught the people by the war had sent them forward a long distance in the path of self-government. In the words of a late English commentator: "A people of strong fibre and high morals, strictly Sabbatarian, rigidly orthodox, averse to extravagance, to gambling, and to effeminate amusements, capable of great efforts of self-sacrifice, hard, stubborn, and indomitably intractable, they had most of the qualities of a ruling race." [1]

The power of liberty.

But this graphic picture, discriminating as it is, does not render the whole story. Our nineteenth century, accustomed to the use of liberty, breathing the unchartered air of freedom, — beclouded, too, in the atmosphere of imperial combination and empire, — often forgets the original spirit of freedom, that divine impulse in the people which made possible all this liberty and well-ordered modern living. The eighteenth century burst the swaddling-bands of civilised institutions, and gave the individual citizen new movement and capabilities. Only the eighteenth century mind can appreciate that mighty change in all its power and consequence. Burke knew Europe well, and America better than any of his fellows. The philosophic master of rhetoric built even

[1] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 303.

better than he knew when he uttered this pregnant sentence: "From these six capital sources — of descent; of form of government; of religion in the Northern provinces; of manners in the Southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government — from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It has grown with the growth of the people in your colonies, and increased with the increase of their wealth."[1]

The same comprehensive observer saw the vital point, the creative centre, of the matter involved. The English observers and expositors of to-day, after a century of historic development, often grope about without seeing the truth as Burke saw it. England, after struggling half a century with reform, did not fit her institutions to her people as well in 1832 as America fitted hers in 1776 and 1789. The petty critics of Chatham and Burke cried out with high and silly glee in the House of Commons, that the colonies, if taxed without representation, would be represented as well as was the lot of Manchester and the other great and growing towns. This was an argument mighty in its destructive consequences. The mother's political incapacity was the child's opportunity. A great nation, a mighty empire, was born. Strange that any one in these days should wish it otherwise! The unity of the English race might have been a good thing. A better thing was the unity of an imperial republic, moulding institutions to its destiny, and fusing all races into one race, into itself.[2]

Political England was a century behind.

Burke saw this dimly, but he saw it. "The colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, . . . but

[1] From his great speech on Conciliation. *Works*, iii. 257 (Rivington's).

[2] The inherent difficulties in governing the American colonies from England are well stated in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, vi. 22, 23.

through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous Nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection." This process toward perfection was to be rudely interrupted now by a man great in little things, accomplished in all the bureaucratic faults pertaining to Englishmen. George Grenville, chancellor of the exchequer, had extraordinary capacity in making virtue do all the evil which vice might have done. Bred a lawyer, fond of details, inflexible in routine, he had not the mental grasp of a statesman, or the practical tact and sagacity of a good executive. It was reported that he "lost America because he read the American dispatches, which none of his predecessors had done."

Grenville's virtues.

This bureaucrat went forward cheerfully, confident of success where Chatham might have failed, probably would have failed. He started to enforce strictly the Trade and Navigation Acts; to permanently place a British army in America, and to raise a part, at least, of its support by parliamentary taxation in the colonies. These three measures, the seeds of the Revolution, affected the fate of both hemispheres. Had they been administered successfully, they would have put money into the English treasury, and would have widened the prerogatives of the crown, but they would have fatally checked the growth of America, especially of New England. Grenville found an immense deal of smuggling in the colonies, it is true. The whole revenue from customs in America brought in £1,000 to £2,000 annually, at a cost to the exchequer in collecting of £7,000 to £8,000.[1]

Not by care but by "wise neglect" did the colonies develop toward empire. The French West Indies produced many things needed by New England, and craved in return her timber and fish. To stop this exchange, and force it toward the English Sugar Islands, Parliament had imposed in 1733 the prohibitory duty

The Sugar Acts.

[1] Lecky, *Eighteenth Century*, iii. 303.

of 6*d.* per gallon on molasses, 5*s.* per cwt. on sugar when imported into British plantations from foreign colonies. If this act had been obeyed, it would have produced commercial disaster. It scarcely affected the tide of commerce which ran eagerly through the illicit channels which were undermining the authority of Parliament and crown. In 1763 it expired, and the colonists begged hard that it might not be renewed. So in the tea trade: out of a million and a half of pounds consumed annually in America, not more than one tenth came from England.[1]

Grenville began to administer the old as well as to prepare for new legislation, and in 1763 H. B. M. ship Squirrel was stationed at Newport "for the encouragement of fair trade by the prevention of smuggling."[2] Though this severity of administration vexed the colonists, accustomed to the old easy-going customs, it was trifling in comparison with the new measures to be expected. Rumors of the impending Stamp Act which the colonial agents discussed and disputed in vain with Grenville, filled America with vague alarm. Meanwhile the hated Sugar Act was renewed in 1764, the duty on molasses being reduced from the prohibitory sixpence to threepence per gallon. It was expected that the smaller rate would produce a revenue. The colonists found ways to reduce the tax still more. In actual practice they paid only about three halfpence per gallon.[3] The news of this act and the prospect of further measures created intense excitement. Committees of correspondence between the colonies were appointed to agitate the repeal of the new Sugar Act, and to oppose taxation of every kind by Parliament.

Smuggling is to be prevented.

The Stamp Act prescribed that all bills, bonds, leases, insurance policies, marriage certificates, vessel clearances, newspapers, broadsides, and legal

Stamp Act.

[1] Bancroft, *U. S.*, iii. 59.

[2] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 246.

[3] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 109.

documents of all kinds, should be written on stamped paper. Stamps at varying prices were to be sold by public officers, and the proceeds, through his Majesty's treasury, were to be expended for colonial protection and defence. The law passed Parliament February 27, 1765, — "one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind;" yet the House of Commons hardly listened to the discussion, and voted listlessly for the government measure. The Walpoles and other wiseacres of London society thought the doings of and about Wilkes were of much more importance. This act began the breach that rent the empire, swallowed millions of British money, and took away millions of vigorous subjects from their allegiance to the British crown.

Never did legislation fail so completely in its anticipated effect; never did the effect achieved reverse and oppose so completely the purpose of the administrators. The people to be governed bent every individual will in absolute opposition to the government. In vain England expected the "money to be received" from the colonies; not a stamp was to be seen in America. The American distributors disappeared as if by magic: some resigned; some were forced out of their places by the popular wrath. The law courts were closed, and business was virtually suspended. Then the colonial governors assumed to make the law anew by issuing letters allowing noncompliance with the act because stamps were not to be had.

But the ardent citizens, now verging toward political rebellion, did not stop or content themselves with these negative forms of resistance. Economically, these subjects felt independence before in any form of association they dared to breathe of non-allegiance. Let it be remembered that, as the ship-money tax crushed the crown at home and founded a new kingdom, so an economic principle crushed the crown in America and founded a new empire. Whether Parlia-

Economic resistance to crown.

ment could tax was a mooted question; whether colonists would buy wares of the constituents behind Parliament was a question quite within colonial control.[1] Merchants agreed not to import;[2] rich as well as poor dressed in homespun, ate no lamb to save the wool, while orders for British goods were cancelled, and ruin faced British manufacturers as well as factors.

Petitions poured into Parliament from the merchants of

[1] *From Correspondence of J. & J. Amory.*

Boston *November* 13*th* 1765

Messrs Bond & Smith,

We are very apprehensive that if the Stamp Act be not repealed there will be a general determination, not only here but throughout the continent of America, not to make use of any English manufactures other than what absolute necessity requires, which will reduce the importations to a mere trifle of what they have been, and must entirely put an end to our trade with you. If this Act is forced upon us we shall consider ourselves as slaves without anything we can call our own. It must render disaffected to the English government above a million of people who till now were proud of being Englishmen, and as firmly attached to the interest of England as if they were born there. After being deprived of our natural liberties as men, and our privileges granted our ancestors by Royal Charter, we shall be very indifferent who our foreign masters are. And perhaps we may like them the least whom we once liked the best.

Boston *December* 20 1765

Mess^rs^ Barnard & Harrison,

We cannot think the merchants who deal to America will find it their interest to increase their debts here by farther exportations unless the Stamp Act be repealed. The resentment of the people is at a very high pitch, but will be much higher if not soon relieved. There will certainly be a general combination of all ranks of people to throw off every sort of luxury in dress, which you must know will take off two thirds of our imports from Great Britain. People begin to clothe themselves in our own manufactures. We are at present in a state of anarchy, but we are petitioning our Governor & Council that our courts may be open, and this we think they must come into, as people seem determined to pay no taxes to government, if we are deprived of the benefit of it.

[2] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 116; and see *Nar. and Crit. Amer.*, vi. 50, 76–80.

London, Bristol, and other places. The colonists owed them several millions for goods delivered. They would not order new supplies, nor could they pay for the old ones. Trade arrested always impairs the ability of the debtor, even when he desires to pay. The expectation of credit creates new credit, with a corresponding ability to turn the account. Artisans in Manchester, Leeds, and elsewhere lost their employment. The kingdom was convulsed by the economic resistance in America to a political act. Even the king saw the danger threatening the foundations of his authority before his immediate councillors waked to the occasion.

Chatham opposed the Stamp Act, and defended the colonies with his magnificent eloquence, while Burke brought solid knowledge to his support. It was repealed February 22, 1766, and at the same time a Declaratory Act was passed affirming the right to tax America. This did not attract much notice in America at the moment, in the extravagant joy over the repeal, which, according to John Adams, hushed "almost every popular clamour." But the new act proved in the end to be another tug at the lid of Pandora's box. In 1767 Charles Townshend, then chancellor of the exchequer, put his nervous hand to the work. The opponents of the Stamp Act, Pitt particularly, had made a distinction, "more nice than wise in its application to the colonies, between external and internal taxes."[1] The brilliant and foolish Townshend, following this, proposed to raise a revenue by a small duty on glass, lead, paints, and paper. With this the export duty of one shilling per pound on tea from England to America was remitted, and an import duty of threepence was laid in America. This was in the line of Grenville's logic, but straight across the lines of existing economic development in America. One shilling export was four times larger than threepence im-

Repeal with declaration of right to tax.

[1] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 275.

port ; but the small threepence was a tax, and the colonists had learned how to resist and beat down a tax. This was their political action ; in economic management they smuggled their tea, — from the Dutch chiefly. It was said that not one tenth of the American consumption had paid any English duty. So little did the English statesmen know of the enormous political forces they started into action when they meddled with these habits of the people.

If we would comprehend the rapid and strange growth of rebellion ripening into revolution after the repeal of the Stamp Act, we must consider the principles involved in the whole English polity, as it was applied to the regulation of the colonies. Two theories of administration interplaying — sometimes crossing and entangling themselves — were being worked out in England. One ruled the dependencies in the interest of the old mercantile system, which was about to fall under the blows of Adam Smith, who was aided somewhat by the French economists. This policy was ably represented by Grenville. The other, culminating in the rule of Chatham and the philosophy of Burke, would have made the dependencies into essential parts of the empire, would have modified parliamentary representation by some method allowing the colonists to take part in their own taxation. The sovereignty of England through Parliament — the king its executive head — was the principle dear to the greater Pitt. The ideal of this warrior-statesman was to enable the power of England, working through every fibre of colonial life, every possible inch of territory, to beat off every other European, and to triumph over every obstacle. This ideal was actually moulded by Chatham into much accomplished fact. He cared little who paid if England and the English race won ; in this he led his willing country so long as it could move under such high motives, and bear such exalted strain. Grenville, laboring at the old economic policy, attempted to pay

Two lines of English administration.

Chatham's ideal.

the bills. A conscientious king of narrow mind could only injure and derange these jangling elements of polity when he brought the personal factor into the conduct of affairs. George the Third could not make his way through the clashing of imperial sovereignty and freeman's right, through the economic development of taxation under new conditions of citizenship. Clutching hard at the tattered shreds of prerogative, he made yet worse the jangling discord.

The king's error.

This is not the place to show that Chatham's ideal of British sovereignty could not have been rendered into practical politics by any legislation or administration in that day. England had to set her own house in order before she could extend her parliamentary system over dependencies then fast growing into states. After more than a century of enlightened development she governs Ireland, South Africa, Australia, by methods which justify themselves in political philosophy only by their practical success and general good order. It is the business of this chapter to show that the economical development of New England — and collaterally of the other American colonies — led the people into rebellion, then into revolution and independence. This was an orderly development out of the bad political administration of a bad economic system, which has been described heretofore.

In theory the colonists could not export the chief products of their industry [1] except to Great Britain. A foreign ship could not enter their ports. Salt could be imported, and wines from Madeira and the Azores, under duties collected for the royal exchequer. Food, horses, and servants could be brought from Ireland. Lest they should increase wool, they could not weave their own cloth, nor transport wool from one colony to another. A British sailor could not buy more than 40*s.* worth of

Economic restrictions.

[1] See Bancroft, *U. S.*, iii. 107, 108 ; and *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, vi. 7, 64.

woollen clothing in their markets. The manufacture of hats from furs was limited in the same way. Iron-making was limited and crippled. The slave-trade was encouraged. The British statesmen differed much, but they agreed on the one point of colonial control. Chatham would not tax the colonial subjects without representation, but in the matter of subjecting colonial development to "British interests," he went to the extreme. "If this power [*i. e.* absolute sovereignty] were denied, I would not permit them to manufacture a lock of wool, or a horseshoe, or a hobnail."

Business defies British control.

Yet the things forbidden in theory were done by the colonists in substance. It is true they did not manufacture textiles or iron largely, because the labor was worth more for other affairs. But they had grown up doing the things they found profitable, whatever the British law had been. When the Grenville ministry thought to puzzle and silence Franklin by their question, "Suppose the external duties to be laid on the necessaries of life?" they were amazed by his prompt answer, "I do not know a single article imported into the Northern colonies but what they can either do without or make themselves. The people will spin and work for themselves in their own houses." The British officials of the bureau fancied that these self-managing people were subject to the power and the administration of the crown and its officers. But the subjects readily evaded edicts they did not like. This fact cannot be presented too often, for its manifest bearing on the whole controversy is everlooked by many historians. Hutchinson, arguing for the royal cause, says that it was a great mistake that the new sugar duty was laid at 3*d.*: it should have been a penny or three halfpence. He adds naïvely, the merchants wished to pay a small duty "rather than be at the charge and trouble of clandestinely importing foreign molasses." [1]

[1] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 108.

The spirit of independence — however it may have been stimulated or restrained by minor causes and the work of individuals — was surely and fatally impelled by one overmastering cause: that cause was in the English polity, which was badly conceived and worse administered. The proposition laid down by Burke, that peoples should never be led to scrutinise the sources of sovereignty, had been neglected or traversed by the English rulers when the storm broke at Lexington and Concord. "If you sophisticate and poison the very source of government by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question." The wisdom of the paradox is complete. The kingly power is illimitable, yet limited essentially in the very nature of the governed, and those limitations can be made effective by the unwise action of governors.

Revolt inevitable.

Hutchinson dates the revolt of the American colonies from the year 1766. The exact date will never be fixed. In 1768 Massachusetts addressed a dignified and temperate letter of remonstrance [1] to the king's ministers. This community had been agitating some time for the non-importation of British goods. When the prospect was assured that troops would be sent over to enforce the king's mandates, the movement for non-importation gathered strength rapidly. In August, 1768, the merchants of Boston signed an agreement not to import merchandise from Great Britain, excepting some few necessaries, during the year 1769. The troops landed in Boston October 1, 1768. The political development forced on the economic, and *vice versa*. There were some violations of the agreement by individual merchants in the various colonies, but public opinion was directed against

Exact date uncertain.

[1] Bancroft, *U. S.*, iii. 272–276.

the offenders so forcibly, by publishing lists of names and by votes in town meetings, that the agreements were in substance enforced.[1] The English exports to America dropped from £2,378,000 in 1768 to £1,634,000 in 1769;[2] and to New England alone they were £430,807 in 1768, and £223,696 in 1769.[3] In the next year, 1770, the agreements were virtually terminated, and the colonists concentrated their efforts on the prohibition of tea. Hutchinson noted that the power of the new economic and social government was greater than that of the old political one.[4] Committees of correspondence compelled a certain uniformity of action equal to ordinary political evolution.

Committees of correspondence.

In 1772 and 1773 these committees of correspondence were working silently through the colonies, and virtually doing the business of legitimate government. The daring attack on the Gaspee man-of-war in Narragansett Bay,[5] resulting in her destruction, in June, 1772, had inflamed the authorities against Rhode Island. It was proposed to annul her charter. Samuel Adams recommended union in anticipation of any such movement: "An attack upon the liberties of one colony was an attack upon the liberties of all."

The Massachusetts towns corresponded through their principal citizens. Gradually the revolutionary heat, thus engendering in individual breasts,[6] burst forth in the positive resolutions enacted by various town meetings. The spirit of resistance in the colonies, rising gradually, was preparing the minds of the citizens for overt acts. The burning of the Gaspee having positively defied the crown, an opportunity for a similar and even more dramatic act of rebellion was at hand. The tea tax of Townshend had

[1] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 257; Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 303.
[2] Lecky, *England*, iii. 404.
[3] Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 374.
[4] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 261.
[5] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 318.
[6] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 85.

been thus far a mere political farce. In the three years, 1770–1773, not one chest in 500 had been seized for non-payment of duties.[1] Yet the East India Company claimed that the annual consumption in America was £3,264,000. Now that powerful corporation needed colonial custom, and was about to send its teas direct to America, free of duties in England. Townshend's tax of 3*d.* was to be collected. In the words of Lord North, "the king means to try the question with America."

Boston "Tea-party."

Three ships loaded with the questionable stuff arrived in Boston harbor. Their entry was easy; but if the coast had been lined with jagged reefs, or swept by all the highest waves out of the ocean's lowest depth, the entry of the tea into the economy of New England life would have been no more uncertain and dangerous. The country glowed like a tinder-box. Neither committees of correspondence, citizens of Boston, nor the interior towns would hear of any peaceable landing. Away back in Leicester, the committee wrote, "Do not suffer any of the teas already come or coming to be landed, or pay one farthing of duty. You may depend on our aid and assistance when needed."

The body politic was hastening to an issue. In the dim light of the evening of December 16, 1773, the Boston patriots lifted their hands against the government of George the Third. Three hundred and forty chests, the whole importation, were emptied overboard without damage to other property.[2] They did not covet the value of the innocent Bohea, they struck at the symbol of sovereignty embodied in the tax. Rebellion was rife and revolution near at hand. Said John Adams, "This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire."

Rebellious Boston first felt the heavy hand of British

[1] Snow, *Hist. Boston*, p. 290. [2] Barry, *Mass.*, ii. 473.

power. The troops had been a menace of authority. Now the punitive blows fell thick and fast. The Act of Parliament closing her port arrived in Boston May 10, 1774. Two days later — while her committee of correspondence were considering the situation — Bowler, Speaker of the Rhode Island Assembly, gave them the welcome news that all thirteen colonies had responded favorably to the Rhode Island circular calling for common union against Great Britain. General Gage had been appointed commander-in-chief for America, and governor of Massachusetts; the military arm of the crown, stretching across the seas, was taking to itself all the local and civil powers of government. As Gage, the feeble exponent of despotic power, was sailing into Boston harbor, May 14th, Samuel Adams, the most commanding personality in New England, at that moment the incarnation of the American Revolution, was presiding over a large town meeting. This assembly of freeholders, nothing daunted by the shock of encounter with king and Parliament, pronounced the Port Bill "repugnant to law, religion, and common sense." They appealed to "all the sister colonies, inviting a universal suspension of exports and imports." In three weeks after the receipt of the Port Bill, the colonies were practically as one in resistance to it.[1]

Punishment of Boston.

This non-intercourse was practically adopted throughout the country. The "sublimity" John Adams found in the action of the tea-party is much more manifest to modern eyes in this calm, resolute, self-denial of whole communities. In mercantile correspondence from day to day, we can detect the very movement of the popular pulse. J. & J. Amory, of Boston, merchants who had done much toward the repeal of the Stamp Act, belonging to the moderate party, desiring peace, yet express[2] this drift of the popular will. May 30th they say: "Trade is almost universally here re-

Sublimity of silent resistance.

[1] Bancroft, *U. S.*, iv. 18. [2] *MS. Letters.*

garded as necessary to the good of both countries; but we conceive no suffering will induce the colonies to acknowledge a right in Parliament to tax us at pleasure." July 5th they "find already an almost total cessation of business." September 3d they write to London, "as all Law is now at an end, we are left at the mercy of those who are indebted to us to pay us at their own time. We are satisfied with the honor and integrity of most of those with whom we deal, but how far they may be rendered unable to pay us from their debtors availing themselves of the times, we are unable to say."

Social life precedes political.

Politics are the essence of the main current of history, but history is not mere politics. The social condition of a people expresses itself outwardly in the great activities of industry and trade; then it is formulated in the ways of political action. Statutes, edicts, administration of law directed and adapted to the common life of the people, make politics. If the law and its administration does not formulate actual living in this way, then trouble and revolution must follow, until government fits itself to the wants and ways of the governed.

The largeness of the political principles involved in the small movements of these obscure citizens, in a little community, was not apparent even to the near-by observers of these events, as they occurred. A curious misconception of the springs and causes of colonial revolt possessed England then; she has not altogether recovered from it now.

It was said that, just after the battle of Lexington and Concord, the local courts were long occupied in taking testimony to prove that the militia were right and the royal troops were wrong. Even the logic of rebellion could not convince these German-descended English freemen that they were in revolution against lawful authority. The technical points of this process of law were as nothing,

but the orderly spirit of such courts was everything. Notwithstanding this orderly conduct of disorder, Englishmen could see nothing wrong in their own administration. Mackenzie, a British officer stationed at Boston, though born in Virginia, and knowing George Washington, prejudiced him by correspondence against the Boston leaders. When Washington met the Massachusetts delegates at Philadelphia, he tested them for himself. "Instead of noisy, brawling demagogues, meaning mischief only, he found plain, downright practical men, seeking safety from oppression." [1]

New England developed itself partly by a polity, and more by a lack of polity. A growing people, accumulating wealth through evasions of Navigation and Sugar Acts, through neglect of excise laws, found an easy way to open resistance of the Stamp and Tea Acts. In resisting constituted authority that oppressed their daily living, they learned to establish a constitution of their own.

Town and community.

The evolutions of town government in New Hampshire are worthy of study. A curious instance may be found at Dunstable in 1762.[2] A meeting of the proprietors adjourned and came together again without the moderator or clerk. A part of the proprietors joined in electing a new clerk. The new officers sued the old clerk for possession of the records, but the court found "many Difficultys" in a decision. Therefore the House of Representatives, on petition, appointed a commission with authority to organise the meeting of proprietors. Taverns were controlled by license.[3]

In the present district of Maine, communities were pushing out to found new settlements, as at Machias in 1763.[4] Twenty-five persons, mostly from Scarborough, including a

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1858–60, p. 69.
[2] *Town Pap. N. H.*, ix. 207.
[3] *Ibid.*, ix. 432 ; Felt, *Salem*, i. 422.
[4] Smith, *Machias*, p. 20.

millwright and a blacksmith, made the basis. The towns would not repair roads by a general tax, but each man turned out to do his portion.[1]

While these primitive steps were being taken in the far districts, Boston, the "metropolis," was adorning herself in 1774 with 200 or 300 street lamps.[2]

Haverhill, Mass., organised a fire club. The basis of government is in taxation, and the tax list of Haverhill is interesting enough to cite[3] in detail. Perhaps no communities, before or since, have so thoroughly distributed and adjusted the burdens of state as these carefully regulated towns.

[1] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 671.

[2] *Bos. News Letter*, March 3, 1774.

[3] Chase, *Hist. Haverhill*, p. 426 : —

Valuation of Haverhill, 1767.

478 Polls ratable, 27 Polls not ratable.	£	*s.*	*d.*
281 Dwelling Houses @ £5 each	1405	00	00
44 Work Houses @ 40*s* each	88	00	00
2 Distill Houses @ £23 each	46	00	00
3 Warehouses @ 80*s* each	12	00	00
3320 superficial ft wharf @ 30*s* p. 1000 ft	4	19	5
19 Mills @ £6 each	114	00	00
10 Servts for life at 40*s* each	20	00	00
£4768.13.2 Trading Stock @ 6 pr cent.	268	2	4
242 Tuns of Shiping @ 3*s* pr tun	36	6	00
£3855.12.2 Money at Int @ 6 p ct.	231	6	8¾
186 Horses @ 4*s* 9*d*	44	3	6
252 Oxen at 4*s*	50	8	00
716 Cows @ 3*s* 6*d*	107	8	00
1315 Sheep &c @ 3*d*	16	8	9
59 Swine @ 12*d*	2	19	00
1040 Cow Pastures @ 12*s*	624	00	00
13765 bushels grain @ 8*s*	458	16	8
2736 barrels Cyder @ 3*s*	410	8	00
916½ Tuns English Hay @ 12*s*	549	18	00
945 " Meadow Hay @ 6*s*	283	10	00
	£4791	13	4¾

We must now consider the direct economic results of the changes in the political condition of the colonies. While the various manufactures developed steadily, it seems quite certain that they did not keep pace with the increasing capital of the country gained from other sources. The "News Letter" cited from a London writer showing that the export of British goods to America increased faster than the population.[1] He stated that working braziers, cutlers, pewterers, even hatters, settling in the colonies, would soon drop the working part of their business, and import their goods from England. Burnaby[2] states that the rise of labor caused by the French war hindered manufactures in Massachusetts, especially in the linen industry. He says that all the colonies were trying to make woollens, but not "to any degree of perfection." His critical opinion in this department was not worth much; he condemns the wool as coarse, and too short in staple, only seven inches. He did not know that this staple was better for carding and felting in the goods generally made in Massachusetts than the twenty-two inch Leicestershire wool which he commends. In 1766[3] Governor Moore reported for New York that there were two kinds of woollen made there; "one coarse of all wool, the other Linsey woolsey of linen in the warp and wool in the woof." Nearly every household carded and spun, employing its own inmates, including children. Then itinerant weavers wove the yarns on the household loom. The custom was the same in New England.

Economic results.

Woollen manufacture.

After the troubles caused by the Stamp Act, we note a growing desire for American goods, with a constant social pressure to encourage the use of them, and the manufacture on a larger scale. In

Colonial manufactures.

[1] *Bos. News Letter*, August 7, 1760.
[2] *Travels in N. A.*, pp. 137, 138.
[3] *Doc. N. York*, vii. 888.

1766 "the Daughters of Liberty" had sessions all day long for spinning[1] in Providence. As one result of this movement, the president and first graduating class of Rhode Island College, at Commencement in 1769, were clothed in fabrics of American manufacture.[2] In Northboro', Mass., forty-four women spun 2,223 knots yarn, and gave it to the soldiers.[3] In 1767 one "small country town" of Massachusetts manufactured 30,000 yards of cloth, and Peter Etter & Sons, of Braintree, made woollen and worsted stockings and other hosiery, selling their product at wholesale.[4] In 1768 Boston revived the old linen industry, and Brookfield started a woollen manufactory, proposing "to keep a large number of looms constantly at work."[5] Young ladies at Newbury[6] imitated their sisters of Rhode Island in spinning. The towns generally[7] recommended "economy and manufactures." At Newport, R. I.,[8] families made from 500 to 700 yards of cloth each in a year. Windham, Ct., moved in the same direction.[9] A "blue-dyer" went from Boston to Norwich, and could dye cotton, tow, or linen in indigo. He had extraordinary versatility, — took "genteel boarders;" had a handsome chaise to let; and ladies' gauze caps, "flys," handkerchiefs, and aprons, "ready made in the newest taste," were to be found at his house.[10]

"North American manufactured mens and womens wear," including blue, black, claret broadcloth, was offered for sale in Boston, or it would be received in exchange for English goods.[11] Premiums were offered to

[1] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 266.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 299.
[3] *Essex Inst.*, xiv. 263.
[4] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Nov. 2 and 23, 1767.
[5] *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1768.
[6] Coffin, p. 234.
[7] Butler, *Groton*, p. 116; Morse, *Holliston*, p. 329.
[8] *Bos. News. Let.*, Jan. 21, June 2, 1768.
[9] *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1768.
[10] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 360.
[11] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 8, 1769; *Bos. News Let.*, June 1, 1769; Jan. 25, 1770.

encourage the growth of raw materials and their manufacture.[1] One person had spun, chiefly by children, in six months, in Boston, 36,680 skeins of "fine worsted yarn, which will make about 7,320 yards of fine women's apparel."[2] Ebenezer Hurd, postrider to Saybrook, Ct., made in the year 1767, by the help of his wife and children, 500 yards linen and woollen cloth, "the whole from wool and flax of his own raising."[3] The senior class of 1768 at Cambridge were much commended for agreeing to graduate "dressed altogether in the manufactures of this country."[4] Mr. Henry Lloyd, of Charlestown,[5] had his clothes, linen, shoes, stocking, boots, gloves, hat, "wig and wig call," all of New England manufacture.

It is very interesting to the modern reader to study the arrangement and the methods of a worsted mill,[6] as projected in those days.

The production of textile fabrics was stimulated in every way. The ladies' meetings for patriotic spinning were continued. In 1771 as many as seventy linen wheels were employed at one gathering.[7] Clothiers' shears[8] were made here, and it was claimed that they were superior to those imported. Woollen and worsted weavers came from England, and followed their vocation in the "manufactory house"[9] at Boston.[10]

Gloves, a necessary adjunct of funerals, were made at home. William Pool, of Danvers, advertised them especially for "friends to America."

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Feb. 18, 1768; July 27, 1769; Oct. 5, 1769; May 10, 1770.

[2] *Bos. News Letter*, Dec. 28, 1769.

[3] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, ii. 123.

[4] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 7, 1768.

[5] Frothingham, p. 283.

[6] See Appendix G.

[7] *Bos. News Letter*, June 20, 1771.

[8] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 7, 1771.

[9] See account of this factory-house in Bishop's *Hist. Manufactures*, i. 375, 376.

[10] *Mass. Arch.*, clxxx. 181.

Potash, which was made about 1753,[1] was now an article of some consequence. Kettles, cast from Salisbury iron ore, were sold for the manufacture.[2] It was claimed in 1771 that over thirty tons were often made in a single kettle before it was worn out. Potash was applied to soap-making in Boston in 1767.[3] American steel is advertised in 1774, "Equal to German," and suitable for edged tools.[4] The production of metal buttons[5] at Boston, and of copperas and other chemicals at Brookfield,[6] are noticed in 1775. Powder mills spring from the atmosphere of the time, at Stoughton, Andover, and Bradford.

Effect on iron.

The manufacture of iron was virtually checked but not entirely suspended by the parliamentary prohibition of our last period. Some trip-hammers were set in motion. The slitting-mill[7] in Milton, Mass., was advertised for sale in 1765. A new mill[8] of the same character was erected in Dorchester in 1769. The business was not profitable, and was continued only a short time. An "iron factory" was started a little after 1771 in the Kennebec district.[9] Of more importance was the noted Salisbury furnace in Connecticut, begun in 1762 and rebuilt in 1770.[10] The products of the Salisbury mines, especially the "charcoal coal-blast iron," were long regarded as the best in the United States. We shall see the iron playing an important part in the ordnance of the Revolutionary armies.

In the various manufactures I note a paper-mill at Milton, Mass.,[11] and two at Dorchester.[12] The latter place[13]

[1] See above, p. 686.
[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Nov. 18, 1771.
[3] Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 174.
[4] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Sept. 26, 1774.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, clxxx. 117.
[6] *Ibid.*, clxxx. 238.
[7] *Bos. Eve. Post*, May 27, 1765.
[8] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 623.
[9] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk.*
[10] Trumbull, *Conn.*, ii. 109; Bishop, *Hist. Manufactures*, i. 512.
[11] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Sept. 8, 1760; *Mass. Arch.*, xxv. 330.
[12] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 623.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 602, 627, 635.

was active in its industries, and included a snuff-mill and one or more chocolate mills, which began in 1765. John Hamran, from Ireland, made the first chocolate in New England. Pottery of superior quality was made in New Boston,[1] and "cordial spirits," like orange-water, etc., were distilled at Newbury.[2] The making of women's shoes, previously noticed, continued and increased at Lynn.[3]

Abel Buel, a goldsmith at Killingworth, Ct., made good type in 1769. Several fonts of this were in practical use. He was a self-taught mechanic, and an illustration of the power and adaptability shown in New England in meeting the absolute needs of the time.[4]

In agriculture the changes were few. In 1762 the pioneers found that they could plant corn among the stumps and half-burned logs of cleared fields without plowing. The virgin soil responded buoyantly, and the process was very successful.[5] "Heardsgrass" or timothy was coming into general use. The sowing of it is remarked at Dorchester in 1771.[6] The first buckwheat was raised for animals.[7] Agriculture.

The attempt to revive the growing of wheat in Massachusetts was continued, and the bounty increased to 8*d.* per bu. in 1763.[8] The harvest at Hartford, Ct., was remarkably good in 1768.[9] A little hemp was imported from London to Boston in 1762. The governor in his speech in 1765 advised the production of potash and hemp, with the transport of lumber to England, as the best industries for the colonies.[10] This opinion was partly political and partly economic.

"To the honor of Pomona," one Hingham apple-tree

[1] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 30, 1769.
[2] *Mass. Arch.*, cxx. 393.
[3] Newhall, p. 334.
[4] Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 27.
[5] Belknap, *N. H.*, iii. 137.
[6] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 362.
[7] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 364.
[8] *Mass. Arch.*, i. 381.
[9] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 18, 1768.
[10] *Mass. Arch.*, lvi. 404; cx. 192.

showered down 87 bushels of apples, "in number 28,295 choice fruit." [1]

The patient industry, minute skill, and resource of judgment in these New England farmers has been the theme of many thoughtful men; it can never be over-estimated or praised. Occasionally we get a concrete illustration of these lives of cheerful toil and steadfast devotion to duty. In 1774 James Burnam, of Norwich, Ct., brought into the village market a sledload of wood, making 2,500 loads in twenty years. All but 50 loads from his own land, and the greater part was cut by himself.[2] This work was done without breaking a wheel or sled, bruising a finger, or injuring a single ox or horse. The whole sales amounted to £820. He had also subdued and fenced two acres of land in 500 days of his own labor.

The currency.

The currency underwent but little change in this period. Massachusetts had much the better system and her trade profited by it. Connecticut had maintained her paper money fairly, and had raised liberal taxes during the French War, when her farmers were selling produce at high prices and could afford the taxes. Rhode Island had a very poor currency.

Massachusetts had not dispensed entirely with paper money. She paid interest on treasury notes in 1762 and renewed them in 1765. Paper to the amount of £157,000 fell due in 1767, and there was a party still clamoring to make paper a legal tender.[3]

Though trade was embarrassed by the resistance to Stamp Acts and by the non-importation movements, yet Massachusetts was prosperous, especially in 1771–74, the years just preceding the Revolution. Hutchinson, the most competent observer in economic matters,[4] affirmed

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Jan. 6, 1763. [2] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 359.

[3] Felt, *Mass. Currency*, pp. 150, 154, 156, 158.

[4] See the excellent observations on currency in Governor Bernard's *Letters on Trade*, pp. 50, 51.

this, and with reason. He attributed the prosperity to the specie circulating in the "silver money colony." Massachusetts was drawing specie from her neighbors, and from Jamaica, Spain, and Portugal.[1]

Massachusetts had refused the bills of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; in 1772 she proscribed those of New York, New Jersey, and Nova Scotia,[2] also. Rhode Island[3] was struggling with her wretched load. She sunk her old tenor in 1770.[4] But now, in 1775, Massachusetts opened her pocket, as well as her heart, to the armed freemen of Connecticut and Rhode Island hurrying to her aid after the assault at Lexington. An act then sanctioned, in terms quite pathetic, the circulation of the paper of the poorer colonies. This was quickly followed by an issue of her own bills for £100,000 to meet "the exigencies."[5] Rhode Island[6] began her Revolutionary issues by £20,000, followed soon by £10,000 more.

Lotteries[7] were as popular as ever, and many schemes both public and private, were promoted by the sale of tickets in these ventures. Some twenty-seven were granted by Rhode Island in five years. Losses by fire and through foreign privateers were recompensed by this means. Harvard College received a benefit in 1773.

The general condition of the roads was improved and improving about this period. The rapid rally of the militia in 1775 to Cambridge, from all parts of Massachusetts and from Connecticut and Rhode Island; their subsistence there largely by voluntary con- Land travel.

[1] Hutchinson, *Mass.*, iii. 350.

[2] See Haliburton, *Nova Scotia*, p. 261, for a curious currency of furs and other merchandise based on beaver at 5*s.* per lb.

[3] See detailed accounts, *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 328, 407.

[4] *R. I. C. R.*, vii. 24.

[5] *Mass. Arch.*, cxxxviii. 188.

[6] *R. I. C. R.*, vii. 321, 353.

[7] *Bos. News Let.*, April 4, June 12, 1760; April 22, 1773; *N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 743; *R. I. C. R.*, vii. 250, 263, 271, 635.

tributions of provisions, — all shows that communication was easier and more certain.

In New Hampshire [1] ox teams were still used for family travelling as well as for hauling loads. In winter, sleds were often drawn by hand. But from Portsmouth along the shore to Boston a stage communication was opened in 1761 by John Stavers.[2] His "curricle" on two wheels, drawn by two horses, and carrying three persons, laid over Monday night at Ipswich, passed through Salem, and arrived at Charlestown ferry next day. On Thursdays and Fridays it made the return trip; fares 13*s.* 6*d.*

The trotting-horse has incorporated itself so thoroughly in American civilisation that it is interesting to notice the first dates when its gait was appreciated. About 1770 [3] they began in eastern Massachusetts to trot with the natural step. Previously they had trained for an artificial "pace," strapping the right and left feet together on either side. This is another indication that roads were better, and that vehicles were becoming more common as the exclusive training of horses for the saddle was going out.

The mail went eastward from Portsmouth about 1760, and by 1775 our present Maine had three post-offices.[4] Governor Hutchinson in 1770 [5] recommended the construction of a road to Quebec, or from the Kennebec River to the Chaudière. If made, it would have saved the poor patriots of the Canadian expedition in 1775 from much weary toil.

Newspapers were delivered by carriers on the main routes of travel. In 1774 "Silent Wilde," [6] whose name

[1] *N. H. H. C.*, iii. 190.
[2] Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 204; Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 333.
[3] Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 31.
[4] Willis, *Portland*, pp. 584, 585.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, cx. 363.
[6] *Bos. News Let.*, May 5, 1774.

in no wise harmonised with his vocation as "news-carrier," performed this office from Boston, through Lancaster, "Rutland &c. to Northampton, Deerfield &c.," collecting one dollar half-yearly for his service.

The customs in daily life have changed little since our descriptions of 1740. The ladies and gentlemen of Boston are not unlike those described by Bennett, while the manners of the seaports affect the interior districts more and more. Social distinctions in rank were yielding somewhat. I have remarked that the elaborate arrangement and seating of the congregation in the meeting-houses was given up. It is noteworthy that the cataloguing of students according to social condition was abandoned at Yale College in 1768, and at Harvard in 1773.

Manners.

Among the lower classes the standard of both manners and morals was not advancing. The literary hero of this sort of people was Timothy Dexter, of Newbury, who made his mark on the social history of the period. He hated the "larned" people, and was offended that the town had been divided through their influence, which he bewails thus: "Fite thay wood; in Law they went to the Jinrel Cort to be sot of, finely they got there Eands Answered, the see pert caled Newburyport, 600 Eakers of Land out of 30,000 Eakers of good land, so much for mad, people of Larning."[1]

"Bundling," certainly an unpuritan custom, had crept in, and was extensively practised in Connecticut and western Massachusetts.[2] Possibly it was not as immoral as this age would think, but from any point of view it revealed a very coarse taste. Jonathan Edwards raised his powerful voice against it.

Marriages were contracted in early years, the brides often being only fifteen or sixteen years old. Many in-

[1] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 229.

[2] Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 495; Judd, *Hadley*, p. 247.

cidents show coarse yet innocent manners.[1] An amusing case of love at first sight occurred at Hopkinton, N. H. In those rural districts, religious exercises mingled all the excitements of this world and the next, as they existed in the imagination of the swains and damsels, who flocked to the meeting. An occasional or extraordinary meeting was even more attractive, and an ordination was a most exciting occasion. A youth, losing sight of the preachers and dropping the threads of the ponderous discourses, had fastened eye and mind on an unknown damsel, whose beauty ravished every sense throughout his uncouth being. Text and prayer, hymn and sermon, passed over him, until at last the congregation broke up. In his agony, he rushed through the crowd, seized the maiden in his arms, crying out, "Now I have got ye, you jade, I have, I have!"[2] And from this rude beginning of intercourse a marriage followed.

Meeting and courtship.

About this time the men and women began to sit together in the meeting-house.[3] The rigid observance of Sunday was still enforced in Connecticut. A party of youths and maidens in Norwich were arraigned in that they did, on "Lord's Day evening, meet and convene together, and walk in the street in company, upon no religious occasion."

The economy enforced to avoid importations from Great Britain brought in sensible changes in the management of funerals and their attendant ceremonies.[4] The full suits of black worn by all the connections were dispensed with, bands of crape for gentlemen and black ribbons for ladies being substituted. The gloves, formerly distributed generally, were now only presented to the "pall-holders."[5] I mentioned that so kind-hearted a man as

[1] Burnaby, *Travels in N. A.*, p. 141.
[2] *N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 191. [3] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 320.
[4] Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 247; Drake, *Roxbury*, p. 98.
[5] *Diary of Gov. Hutchinson*, p. 350.

Sewall evidently accounted his rings gained at funerals as merchandise coming in and to be husbanded. A curious illustration of this way of thinking is in the language of Abigail Ropes's will,[1] in 1775. She gives her grandson "a gold ring that I made at his father's death." Another, "a gold ring made when my bro. Wm. Pickman died."

In the dearth of amusement and natural social excitement, any novel incident furnished occasion for large gatherings of people. A commission appointed to adjust a dispute concerning an individual's lands in New London [2] was followed to the scene by forty mounted men. This cortége, growing as it went, found a concourse of people on the ground, and the farmhouses near overflowed with guests. Common gayety and mirth, repressed in every-day life, burst forth on these occasions. We noticed an accidental courtship at an ordination; sometimes an "ordination ball" [3] wound up the festivities at the settling of a minister.

Social gatherings.

If the sermons were long, the jollities were serious. A "Drum or Rout" in Boston broke into the Sabbath at 2 A. M.[4] At a wedding dance in Norwich more elaborate than usual, with 92 guests, there were recorded 92 jigs, 52 contra dances, 45 minuets, 17 hornpipes. The practice of stealing the bride, previously described, was continued in western Massachusetts until after the Revolution.[5] Tripe suppers and "turtle frolicks" were in vogue, the latter in Newport especially. Dr. Solomon Drowne notes one there in his interesting journal.[6] And the beautiful gardens at Newport interested him, with their oranges, lemons, pineapples, and exotic flowers introduced from the West Indies. The Jews were of importance commercially and socially at Newport, the rules of their social club being noteworthy. No talk concerning affairs of the

[1] *Essex Inst.*, vii. 34.
[2] Caulkins, p. 326.
[3] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 332.
[4] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1864, p. 323.
[5] Judd, *Hadley*, p. 245.
[6] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, i. 67.

synagogue was allowed.[1] If members should be unruly, "swear or offer to fight," they were fined; some penalties exacted four bottles of wine. They must have been sober drinkers, or the remedial forfeits would have aggravated the offences. Notwithstanding these social pleasantries, Rhode Island could not admit theatrical entertainments, and fined them £50 each in 1762.[2]

Reading.

Though this century differed much in culture from the ways of the first settlers, the habits of the earlier generations were not all changed. The reading of Scripture kept its place in the life of most well-disposed people. Robert Hale, of Beverly, records in his diary[3] his 134th reading of the Bible. But the new habits of thinking showed themselves more in the formation of clubs and "social libraries." I have alluded to this kind of society at Newport. Salem[4] was represented and afterwards Hingham[5] in these institutions. Scientific lectures were instituted at Salem, and the same had been carried on at Newport. Burnaby bestows faint praise on Harvard College, yet he approves it: "not upon a perfect plan, yet it has produced a very good effect."[6]

Dress and fashions.

In dress gentlemen were gradually becoming more sober, while the ladies were moving in the opposite direction, and arraying themselves in more luxurious and varied apparel,[7] before the enforced economy began. Men still wore more or less silk, with gold or silver lace, and embroidered waistcoats for full dress. But the more substantial cloth coat with high collar was coming in; knee breeches and stockings remained. Full ruffles were worn at the shirt front. The hair was craped, curled, and powdered when wigs were not worn.

[1] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 58.
[2] *R. I. C. R.* vi. 325.
[3] *MS.* in Am. Ant. Soc.
[4] Felt, ii. 31, 38.
[5] Lincoln, *Hingham*, p. 13.
[6] Burnaby, *Travels N. A.*, p. 141.
[7] Caulkins, *Norwich*, pp. 334, 337; *Essex Inst.*, vii. 34; Hawthorne, *Amer. Note Books*, p. 277.

The belles attached long trains to their gowns of rich brocade; the skirt opened in front, was trimmed, and sometimes there was an embroidered stomacher. Almost all ladies, old and young, had ruffles at the elbow. In walking, the belles threw their trains over the arm, displaying dainty silk stockings, sharp-toed slippers, often of embroidered satin and with high heels. Out of doors, clogs were added. Old ladies had the gown of brocade, but in sober colors; a nice lawn handkerchief and apron; close cap of linen or lawn edged with lace; black mittens; hood of velvet or of silk.

Sometimes the hair was dressed over a silk cushion stuffed with wool. This artificial enlargement in the top story of our lovely charmers involved a strange and unnatural head-gear called a calash, of silk, ribbed, round and enormous, bulging in the wind like a yacht's spinnaker. It swayed and bobbed like a balloon as the lady moved. The inherent beauty of the sex is the only power conceivable that could give grace and symmetry to many of the hideous fashions time and caprice have laid upon their wearers.

Parasols or umbrellas were "unknown or rare" in Norwich, Ct., about 1775. Immense fans were carried there, for sunshades as well as for flirting — the air. But "umbrilloes"[1] were made and used in Boston in 1768, the frames of mahogany, "Persian compleat at £6.10 and in proportion for better silk." Ladies, also, bought the sticks and frames and covered them for themselves. All these were doubtless used as parasols.

Runaway slaves or servants[2] bring down the costume of the poorer people. An Irish servant, a weaver, wore jacket and coat of serge, breeches of purple serge, linen shirt purple and white worsted stockings, Servants' costume.

[1] *Bos. Eve Post*, June 6, 1768.

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, Sept. 14, 1769; *Bos. Eve. Post*, July 18, 1774; Bailey, *Andover*, p. 41.

and a beaver hat. A negress went in a striped homespun gown, "ozenbrigs" apron, and old camlet coat. A negro wore a blue serge coat, flowered flannel jacket, and leather breeches.

In evidence that feminine dress was becoming more elaborate and costly, we may cite the wardrobe of a boarding-school miss at Boston. General Huntington's daughters were sent up from Norwich to be "finished," as the custom was, and they went into the best society. The outfit of one comprised twelve silk gowns, but her chaperon wrote for another of a "recently imported rich fabric," which was procured that her appearance might correspond with "her rank."

But the women of New England were now turning their thoughts to things other than gowns by the dozen, whether silk or homespun. The town communities, those mutual associations with common aims, had worked their way by economic living, under the inspiration of common religious faith, into political organisms which were fast forming a national life, and developing the whole power of a state.

Women sustain the rebellion.

The women did their full part in making this life, and in building up these masterful citizens for their conflict with King George in their struggle for independence. On the 19th of April, 1775, the brave but ill-organised militia at Lexington were simply murdered in the first shock of the British attack. A few hours later the "embattled farmers" at Concord met death with death, and organised war was begun. Isaac Davis, captain of the minute-men of Acton, was the first victim in the Concord fight. Thirty years old, father of four children, he had parted from his wife three hours before his death with the words, "Take good care of the children!"

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LAST COLONIAL COMMERCE.

1760–1775.

The French War stimulated commerce, especially that portion of it carried on through illicit channels. The French islands in the West Indies needed intercourse with the northern countries — New England above all — for that natural interchange of commodities which nourished the complementary districts. Some communication was allowed for exchange of prisoners and goods made legitimate by the Navigation and Sugar Acts. Under cover of this regular commerce, many of the colonial governors issued permits, which were stretched beyond their proper limits. Rhode Island was the most implicated, and was sharply rebuked by Pitt.[1]

Contraband to French West Indies.

All this was only the inevitable intercourse and exchange which the economic necessity of a people must and will have. The fierce will of the great Pitt could control armies, and incite them to wondrous feats in beating down the opponents of England in all parts of the world. He could not master a crowd of hungry stomachs; nor could he check the silent movements of natural products back and forth, by the currents streaming in and out of the warm southern and the cooler northern seas. The Frenchman, Du Châtelet, told his government that "the wants of trade are stronger than the laws (*i. e.* political statutes) of trade."

The great whale fishery was the branch of navigation immediately and most affected by the opening of the

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 263.

Straits of Belle Isle, the St. Lawrence, and other waters previously dominated by the French. Louis XIV., notwithstanding great care and effort, had hardly been able to possess himself of the finny monsters swarming in those cold waters. The Nantucket burghers had more skill in fishing if they had not imperial power. They did not wait for the formal assent of the Treaty of Paris. The guns and musketry of Wolfe were summons enough and warrant sufficient for the hardy harpooners of the New England seaports. In 1761 Massachusetts sent up 10 vessels of 70 to 90 tons burden; in 1762, 50 vessels; in 1763, 80 vessels or more.[1] The quantity of oil imported into London was 3,245 tons 2 hogsheads 28 gallons in 1759, and it increased to 5,030 tons 0 hogsheads 12 gallons in 1763.[2] Of this amount nearly three fifths belonged to "owners of America." In the petition to the Lords of the Treasury cited above for the number of vessels, it is stated that 40 tons of bone or "whale fin" was sent into London in 1761 and 1762, which paid a duty of £31 10*s.* per ton. They asked relief from the duty, especially as the price of Dutch bone had been reduced from £500 to £350 per ton since the development of the English and American fisheries.

Whale-fishing stimulated.

We shall soon see Grenville, the British minister, becoming the disturber of American society by the imposition of the Stamp Act. But in doing this in 1764 he indirectly encouraged our whale fishery. He abolished the bounties paid to British fishermen, and relieved their American competitors from the discriminating duty, excepting an old subsidy of less than one per cent.

Under the new impulse the pursuit was extended. New Bedford entered it about 1760; Warren, R. I., in 1766; and Providence in 1768. In the latter year Nantucket maintained 80 sail, and there were probably fully as many more from Cape Cod, Dartmouth,

New ports engage in it.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lxvi. 243. [2] *Ibid.*, lxvi. 247.

Falmouth, Boston, Providence, Warren, and Newport.[1] But in 1768 a Boston writer bewails the neglect of this "beneficial branch of trade in this province."[2] The same authority mentions particularly the fitting out of a sloop by Murray and Franklin.

The range of waters voyaged over extended as the business increased. Mr. Macy gives the dates when the new and more remote fishing grounds were opened up by the Nantucket fishermen as follows:[3] Davis's Straits in 1746; Island of Disco, at the mouth of Baffin's Bay, in 1751; Gulf of St. Lawrence, as above stated, in 1761; coast of Guinea in 1765; eastward from the Banks of Newfoundland in 1765; coast of Brazil in 1774. Some of these periods do not agree with scattered facts as we have them in other authorities. Spermaceti oil, "melted on the Banks, and called white Bank Oil," also oil "melted on the shore," was advertised in Boston in 1760.[4] The coasts of Guinea and of Brazil are mentioned as good fishing grounds in 1754.[5] The cruisers to the Western Islands made successful voyages at this time.[6]

In Nantucket and the ports best organised for the pursuit, the business was now a manufacturing exchange as well as a fishing voyage. Owners in the vessels were often officers, or held the more responsible posts among the crews. On shore, the owners or members of their household were engaged as coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, ropemakers, or in kindred work. The stores for an outfit were chiefly produced at home. If the voyage yielded only moderate returns, it afforded a fair exchange for labor.

[1] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, pp. 43, 49.

[2] *Bos. News Let.*, April 28, 1768.

[3] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 54.

[4] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Dec. 29, 1760.

[5] See 1 *M. H. C.*, iii., iv. 161; also Macy, *Nantucket*, pp. 54, 72, details of catch and prices for many years.

[6] *Bos. Eve Post*, Aug. 24, 1767; *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 10, 1769.

Almost all the ports from Boston around to Connecticut ventured more or less in this fascinating enterprise. Connecticut stimulated the business by freeing both cod and whale fishermen from taxes.[1] Three vessels were fitted from Middletown with poor success.[2] Nantucket was the main centre, and in 1775 had more than 150 vessels, of 15,000 tons, afloat; these included some large brigs.[3] Eight vessels were constantly bringing the necessary supplies into Nantucket.

New England excels all others.

The men of the New World, of New England chiefly, in their hazardous ventures, had now carried this bold industry far beyond all possible effort of Europeans. The sagacious management, the courage and solid audacity, of these fishermen, drew from Edmund Burke a fine tribute to the splendor of their achievement: "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perillous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent People."

This productive business was never a more important relative factor in the whole commerce of the country than in these years, 1774–75, when the Boston Port Bill took effect in restraining the energies of our colonies. The amount directly involved was not very large, but it included most desirable articles of merchandise, which stimulated the whole current of commerce through their possession and exchange. The estimated quantities produced by the fishery were 45,000 barrels of sperm, 8,500 barrels of right whale oil, and 75,000 pounds of bone.[4]

In preparing to resist the mother country, Massachusetts[5] was obliged to forbid all free sailing of vessels on

[1] *Conn. Arch., Maritime Aff.*, i. 93.
[2] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 42.
[3] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 68; Pitkin's *Statistics*, pp. 89, 90.
[4] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 57.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, cxxxviii. 217; clvii. 17, 33, 92.

whaling voyages. Then the Council gave permits for those who dared to attempt voyages under the changed conditions and risks. Bonds were given that all oil and bone should be brought back and landed in Massachusetts. This restriction would deprive an article of export of its chief value when the home country was at war. Under these limitations, the venturesome merchants and gallant fishermen of Nantucket[1] moored their returning vessels, stripped them to their masts, and waited for the dark commercial horizon to lift its overshadowing clouds. They occupied themselves in the common and inferior work of catching cod and mackerel in the nearer waters. The scarcity and high prices of salt took away the profits here. They tried making salt from the Atlantic sea-water, but the fogs around their island gave them a too infrequent sunlight. As the war developed, West India produce became dear, and the whalemen engaged in this commerce. With salt at $2 to $4 per bushel, and molasses at $1 per gallon, it was necessary to follow the spouting leviathan through far-away seas for a profitable return. This resource failed, as the British occupying New York and Newport sent out small privateers, and soon stopped or hampered this commerce.

Codfish.

Picturesque and fascinating as the immense leviathan and his captors were, the homely cod and the hook-and-line men were more vitally important in either the household or commercial economy of New England.[2] Massachusetts found itself in new difficulties, as soon as hostilities broke out, through the working of the fisheries. She allowed the export of "Jamaica fish" in particular instances, the Committees of Safety overlooking that "no other provisions" should be exported.[3] This was the inferior fish fit for negro consumption.

[1] Macy, pp. 80, 83.

[2] See Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 83, for detailed figures.

[3] *Mass. Arch.*, cxxxviii. 164.

The renewal and increase of the sugar duties in 1764 was a sore trial for the cod and mackerel fishermen. The easy exchange of the products of cold Northern waters for the rich products and delicacies of Southern climes and teeming lands had become so natural and essential that the colonial subjects were aghast when it was checked or even constrained. The cod-fishery was the main element in this wholesome trade. We can see the relative importance of the West Indian demand, supplied as it was by the inferior qualities not desired in the home market or for export to Europe. In 1763 Massachusetts [1] took, in 300 vessels, 102,265 quintals merchantable cod at 12*s.*, value £61,359.0; and 137,794 quintals unmerchantable or "West India Cod" at 9*s.*, value £62,007.6. Her 90 mackerel vessels took 18,000 bbls., at 18*s.* value £16,200. She sent out in "shad, alewives, and other pickled fish" 10,000 bbls., at 10*s.*, value £5,000. The poorer part was larger in quantity and value than the best portion. Without a free exchange of the poorer part for the sugar and molasses of the West Indies, they could not push the business of exporting the good grades to Europe.[2] In 1764 New England employed 45,880 tons of shipping and 6,002 men in fishing.[3]

Values of catch.

There are cod and cod; shoals of one sort feed near rocks and ledges, while others swarm over the Newfoundland Banks. But the highest of all the grades in market was the "dun fish," most esteemed in southern Europe, where the shrunken Lenten ascetics ought to know the characteristics of fish. It was generally caught in the winter months, and in the open sea, far from shore. It was not fit for use until August, having undergone a fermentation which changed its color, especially the back, and gave its distinctive name.[4]

[1] 1 *M. H. C.*, vii. and viii. p. 202. [2] See Felt, *Salem*, ii. 220, 221.
[3] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 59, from *English An. Register.*
[4] Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 260.

This fermentation, according to some accounts,[1] was produced artificially in curing. The "Spring fare" of large and thick fish, split and salted on shipboard, were rinsed in salt water on land, then spread and dried on the "flakes" of boards or hurdles, raised three or four feet from the ground. In wet or damp weather the fish were housed, for they must never touch water after curing commenced. After drying, the largest and finest fish were kept alternately above and under ground until they "became so mellow as to be denominated dun fish." The heads were generally thrown away at sea, or fed to hogs on shore. Sounds and tongues were pickled in small kegs. The oil expressed from the livers — now a valuable tonic medicine — was then used in currying leather.

Methods of fishing.

The craft of this period were generally schooners[2] of 20 to 50 tons. Each crew consisted of six or seven men and one or two boys. A good catch was 500 or 600 quintals stored in bulk.[3] They made three trips to the Banks in the season lasting through spring and summer. Fishing near the shores was done in boats, which returned home at night. But the business had concentrated more and more at Canso. Between the French War and the Revolution, it was active and profitable. There was a steady export of provisions in exchange for fish from Boston[4] to the ports on the northeastern coast.

The quantity of alewives, etc., cited above, shows that the river fisheries were of some consequence. All the interior districts protected the rivers by carefully regulating the fishing on their banks.[5] More interesting to

[1] Belknap, *N. Hampshire*, iii. 213. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215.

[3] Gloucester had 80 fishing vessels in 1775 (Babson, pp. 382, 383). One vessel made two trips to the Banks, taking 550 quintals, which sold for £302.

[4] *Mass. Arch.*, lxvi. 431.

[5] *Town Pap. N. H.*, ix. 426; *Hist. Framingham*, p. 61; *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 573.

the modern palate is the history of the oyster, uncouth and rough on the exterior, but succulent and delicious within. Rhode Island began to fear his extinction as early as 1766, and passed an act to prevent "dragging." [1] In 1774 enterprising cultivators began to "plant" the bivalves at Wellfleet, on Cape Cod.[2]

Mackerel.

In the above list of vessels and values of fish, the growing pursuit of the mackerel appears. In 1770 more than 30 vessels fitted from the one port of Scituate [3] in the Old Colony. The Indian testified to his luscious relish for the juicy fatness of this dainty fish by melting a flood of syllables into the name Wawunnekeseag. But civilisation drove the mackerel farther and farther from the shores. The romance of the old-time fishing — the seine-haul by moonlight, when the silvery creatures, barred and striped in blue, tumbled in the nets as they were lifted through sparkling water into the moonbeams — was generally abandoned about 1776. The smacks then sailed slowly and steadily through the schools of fish "drailing" long lines and baited hooks. The nimble fish were capricious, and often played with these tempting frauds, though in wet and cloudy weather they would bite greedily.

Wealth must now be defended.

The whale and other fisheries — important in themselves — constituted only partial factors in the great current of foreign commerce, now to be interrupted and disturbed by the startling administrative changes of the British government. Liberty, freedom, self-government — as we have seen — soon became the controlling influence in the daily life of the American people. Trade, commerce, the getting of gain through generations of peaceful intercourse, were the positive goods and possessions which the new-developing citizen would defend and would possess in his own right.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 508.

[2] Freeman, p. 399.

[3] Deane, p. 22.

The irregular commerce of dependent colonists had grown into the solid possessions of wealthy proprietors, when Grenville and his fellow-ministers attempted to embarrass them by new modes of taxation.

The renewal and the new enforcement of the Sugar Act in 1764 was the most powerful cause in exciting the discontent of the colonies. The old Act of 1733 had levied 6*d.* per gallon on all molasses imported from ports other than British. The chief import into New England was from the French and Spanish islands of the West Indies. This duty, if collected, would have been prohibitive. It was simply evaded; hence sugar and molasses came in freely. The new duty was 3*d.*, and the colonists knew that it was to be actually collected. The prohibition of the exports of lumber[1] to ports other than English, in 1765, was a heavy blow to commerce. But the Sugar Act cut off commerce at its sources.

The Sugar Act.

It is true that the Stamp Act was more dramatic, and that it concentrated against itself a more direct and positive resistance. It brought the heavy hand of the royal tax-gatherer into every shop and every home; it was the symbol of loss of personal freedom and political degradation, as the colonists conceived it. But the Sugar Act swept away the foundations of trade, and threatened the whole economic structure of New England.

Whatever we may think of Francis Bernard's character as a man, or of his achievements in the effort to rule Massachusetts in those troublous times, he gave the British colonial administrators some excellent lessons on the economic situation as it existed. Certainly he was not prejudiced toward colonial interests or views. In his "Letters on Trade," he shows the authorities at home what would be the assured result of severe taxation. He advises 1½*d.* per gallon on molasses as the rate which would yield most revenue. The utmost

Governor Bernard's wise advice.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 502.

he would recommend was 2*d.* He sees that the current of trade had formed permanent channels which neither legislation nor the power of empires could control. "There has been an indulgence time out of mind allowed in a trifling but necessary article; I mean the permitting Lisbon Lemons, and Wine in small quantities, to pass as ships' stores."[1]

The wines and fruits of Portugal,[2] Madeira, and the Western Islands were chiefly consumed here, and these articles of import, trifling in themselves, helped the outflow of fish, timber, and home-built ships. But much larger in effect was the "well-known indulgence" in the Molasses Act, which had "never been duly executed." In fact, in the year 1763, 15,000 hhds. of molasses came into Massachusetts, all excepting 500 hhds. from ports which were not British. The value of this molasses, as sold by the merchants at an average of 1*s.* 4*d.* per gallon, was £100,000. The import was paid for in fish and lumber, or by values created by the home industries, while the £100,000 finally went to Great Britain to purchase her wares. Bernard well argues the economic question. "It is really a contest between The West Indies and Great Britain; for in the latter will the profit and loss arising from the result of this question be determined."[3]

Franklin placed the discussion on yet broader foundations when he told Parliament it mattered not to England whether the same property was acquired by an Englishman living in an American colony, or in an English county.

Collateral figures[4] show that Governor Bernard was correct in claiming that Great Britain gained more than

[1] Gov. Bernard, *Letters on Trade*, p. 2.

[2] According to the report of Brit. MS. Commission for 1872, the *Lansdowne MSS.*, v. 25, 135, have an account of the trade between Portugal and New England.

[3] *Letters on Trade*, p. 7.

[4] *Bos. News Letter*, August 7, 1760.

the West Indies by this interchanging commerce with the "Northern Colonies" (*i. e.* New England chiefly). Between two periods of five years each, 1744–1748 and 1754–1758, the increase of exports from Great Britain to the West Indies was £404,504.2.1, while to the Northern colonies it was £3,927,789.3.1. In the one case the increase was about 12 per cent., in the other it was about 112 per cent. This was in the full tide of the French War, when commerce was certainly profitable.

An accomplished English traveller, Burnaby, was greatly impressed with the general comfort of America, where no one begged. But he made one of those rash prophecies which tempt superficial observers: "America is formed for happiness, but not for empire. I saw insuperable causes of weakness which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state." [1] Burnaby [2] visited Massachusetts in 1759–60. He represents Massachusetts as suffering then from the effects of the French War in heavy taxation. Paper money had injured her trade not only with "Connecticut, but other parts of the continent. Fisheries had declined, and the foreign demand for ships had fallen, because the quality had deteriorated. Yet it was a "rich, populous, and well-cultivated province."

Burnaby's report.

He gives the routine of the domestic and foreign commerce of Rhode Island at the same time. This colony produced only rum for Africa; flaxseed, oil, and a few home-built ships for Europe; lumber, cheese, a little grain, and horses for the West Indies. But through their exchangeable goods of various kinds they levied considerably on Connecticut and the other colonies for provisions and other articles of export. Spermaceti candles were manufactured there freely.

The course of commerce was in this wise: Vessels took out provisions to the West Indies, and rum to Africa; brought back negroes to the West Indies. They carried

[1] Burnaby, *Travels in N. A.*, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 147.

West India sugar to Holland, selling it for money, which they paid to account in London. These credits afforded European goods, which were exchanged at home for products of the neighboring colonies. There were cleared in 1763 at Newport some 184 vessels in the foreign trade with a regular line to London.[1]

Burnaby[2] contemns the Rhode Islanders for their lack of "arts and sciences and public seminaries of learning." Officials "from the highest to the lowest are dependent on the people," and neither their character nor abilities find favor with this English observer. But if we study the judicious and calm remonstrance against the Sugar and Stamp Acts[3] sent by Governor Hopkins to the Lords Commissioners by request of the General Assembly of the colony, we find that these "dependent" burghers knew the business of life quite as well as the English scholar who despised them.

Governor Hopkins's remonstrance.

The remonstrance states that about 150 of the Rhode Island vessels went to the West Indies annually, and brought into the colony 14,000 hhds. of molasses; of this not over 2,500 hhds. came from the English islands, nor was their whole product equal to two thirds of the Rhode Island consumption. It will be observed that the little colony imported within 1,000 hhds. as much as her Massachusetts sister. From this time to about 1769, Newport commerce was at its highest prosperity. Rhode Island had thirty distilleries. American rum had driven the French brandies from the coast trade of Africa. The price of molasses was then 12*d.* sterling per gallon, at which rate distilling was profitable. The colony remitted about £40,000 to Great Britain annually. The document argues at length, and with great force, that the interchange helped Rhode Island, the British West Indies, and finally Great Britain.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 379.

[2] *Travels in N. A.*, pp. 126, 127.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 378–383.

Moses Brown[1] states, on the authority of the committee of the General Assembly in 1764, that Providence had fifty-four vessels afloat, "40 sail of which Used the West India and other Trade, and the 14 are coasters. Of the 40 sail 24 vessels Used the foreign Trade as the Dutch, Danes, French, and Spanish ports, the other 16 to the English."

They brought returns in salt, molasses, sugar, rum, coffee, cotton, pimento, etc. Spermaceti candles[2] were made largely.

Connecticut employed 45 vessels in 1761,[3] and after the Peace of Paris increased her West India trade considerably. The returns thence overstocking her market, she sent some of the molasses and sugar to England.[4] The merchants of the larger towns had always imported more or less goods from England direct.[5]

Connecticut commerce with West Indies.

The West India commerce went in single-decked vessels: horses and oxen were tethered on deck; lumber, shingles, staves, and hoops were stored in the hold; occasionally the cargoes included some fish, beef, pork, or corn. Vessels also went into the Mediterranean, disposed of their cargoes in the Spanish ports, and bought mules in Barbary for the West Indies. They took out provender for the animals on the voyage. Insurance to Great Britain was about two per cent. in ordinary times, and 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. during the wars.

The cruise of the brig Two Brothers[6] to Dutch Guiana was a specimen of these Connecticut voyages. Her cargo was 76 bushels of oats, 25 tierces tobacco, 28 bbls. flour, 60 bundles oak staves, and as many bricks as

[1] *Letter on Commerce, MS.*, R. I. H. Soc.
[2] *Bos. News Let.*, June 8, 1769.
[3] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 314.
[4] Caulkins, *N. London*, p. 484.
[5] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 311.
[6] *MS. Journal* in *Hartford Courant*, April 25, 1881.

she could stow in two days at Rocky Hill. Ropes of onions were included. The culture of onions at Weathersfield dates from 1710. She went around to New London, took on horses, and sailed for Surinam, thence to Paramaribo.

The commerce of Connecticut increased from 76 vessels of 6,790 tons in 1762 to 180 vessels of 10,317 tons in 1774,[1] all to the West Indies, excepting "now and then a vessel to Ireland with flaxseed, and to England with Lumber and Potashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary." The import of British manufactures, including those brought through Boston and New York, was £200,000 per annum. The average exports to England were about £10,000, and all exports were about £200,000 per annum. "Stores for muling" appear in the items of commerce.

The commerce of New Hampshire[2] was similar, as it was carried on with the West Indies. In addition there was a considerable export of timber, masts, and ships to Europe.

Changes instituted by Grenville.

To comprehend the changes initiated by Grenville, we must go back a full century to the modifications of the old British Navigation Acts made under Charles II. In the legislation of 1660–63, the intention was to bind the colonists in two ways: First, the colonies must get their European merchandise in English bottoms navigated by Englishmen; second, they must produce only those commodities which Great Britain did not produce, and send them to her ports. Commodities of no consequence to British trade might be exported to European ports south of Cape Finisterre.

To secure this latter issue, the classification of "Enumerated Commodities" was made; that is, "sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic and other dye-woods"

[1] *Connecticut Arch., Census*, p. 5.

[2] For details, see Belknap, *N. H.*, iii. 204.

could be transported only to countries belonging to the British crown, under penalty of forfeiture. To the list, molasses and rice were added in 1704; rice was set free in 1730. Furs and copper ore were added in 1721. At various times tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, masts, yards, pig and bar iron, pot and pearl ashes, whale fins, hides, and some other articles were added. By the 6th of George III., 1766, the non-enumerated commodities were limited to the same lines which included the enumerated. The British ministry intended to stop the vigorous illicit trade which had been conducted through every generation of colonial life. In this attempt they hampered all trade as well.

This adverse legislation in Parliament produced an immediate and positive effect on the actual commerce of New England. There can be no question of this. We have seen its effect on the lumber interest;[1] but wherever we get a glimpse of mercantile correspondence, it shows positive changes induced by the mother country's new grip on her half-dependent children. Richard Derby, of Salem, writing in 1768,[2] said it was "out of the people's power to pay money for the necessaries of life, because the duties arising by the late act have almost deprived us of our silver and gold currency already." And he limited purchases of wine, in return for molasses exported, to three fourths of the previous cost, by reason of sluggish trade at home. In Lisbon, too, American grain was in sale "so delatory and precarious by some late laws, injurious to the trade of Great Britain and her colonies,"[3] that it required a year to turn a cargo of 5,000 bushels. Such hindrance in a warm climate was a virtual prohibition of trade in the article. J. & J. Amory,[4] at Boston, write their London correspondent: "Goods of all kinds are a drug, quantities selling every day to the

Economic effect.

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 502.
[2] *Essex Inst.*, viii. 159, 160.
[3] *Bos. News Let.*, July 6, 1769.
[4] *MS. Letters*, June 18, 1768.

destruction of the trade. Money has become scarcer than ever, and collecting of debts, even from among the most opulent people, extremely difficult. This will lead us to import but a trifle for a considerable time."

William Samuel Johnson, in a letter to Jonathan Trumbull, stated that English exports to New England, which were £419,000 in 1767–68, fell to £207,000 in 1768–69.[1]

The natural reaction following all great economic movements came after the Grenville acts, and before the outbreak of the Revolution. April 20, 1771, J. & J. Amory write:[2] "There never has been a time within our knowledge when there was so great a rivalry in business as there is at present. Each one is striving to undersell his neighbours, and engross as much of the trade as possible." The profit of the British shipping merchant at this time, on goods sent here, was from 10 to 15 per cent.[3]

When the Revolutionary struggle fairly commenced in 1775,[4] exportations of all provisions to the British fisheries were prohibited. Exports were definitely forbidden to Nantucket, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Quebec. In the South, only the parish of St. John's in Georgia was allowed; "East and west of Florida" was a forbidden district.

Coasting trade.

The coasting trade[5] continued the marvellous development which was ever a chief element in the making of this Western empire. Rarely did any colony break the course of this magnificent interchange by any foolish acts of legislation. Georgia furnished an instance in 1765, when the General Assembly laid import duties on provisions, fish, spermaceti candles,

[1] 5 *M. H. C.*, ix. 424; and see Pitkin's *Statistics*, p. 19, for detail of English commerce to New England.

[2] *MS. Letters.*

[3] Hutchinson and Oliver, *Letters*, p. 24.

[4] *Mass. Arch.*, cxxxviii. 157.

[5] See a cargo, *Mass. Arch.*, lxvi. 221.

etc., brought from colonies north of South Carolina.[1] Little Rhode Island alone had 352 vessels coasting from Newfoundland to Georgia in 1764.[2] In 1762 two sloops started on weekly voyages from Newport to New York, making a line of packets. Cabin passengers paid one pistole, and those in the steerage two dollars each.[3]

Among the petty annoyances which the British ministry inflicted on the colonies at the eve of the Revolution, in their new regulation of American commerce, perhaps the most vexatious, mischievous, and futile was in their interference with the coasting trade. A British naval officer of the olden time was not too humane or conciliatory at his best. Give him the enforcement of a harsh, imperious system of police inspection, and all the exactions of tyranny must follow. The espionage of the coasters and fishing boats on the Piscataqua was especially vexatious.[4] Worse than this occurred which never went upon record. The traditions along the coast, of the common acts of British officers and sailors against persons and property, would cause shame to any civilised nation.

Nantucket, exposed to the temptation of supplying the enemy, and necessarily constrained by the home government, suffered much in the Revolutionary derangements of commerce. She was constrained by her friends and plundered by her enemies. A feeble and dangerous communication was maintained in open boats with the ports on Long Island Sound.[5] These boats could steal by the British cruisers off Newport, in places where sailing vessels would have been captured.

Friction and ill-feeling followed from all the efforts of the British revenue officers to collect from the people.

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, April 25, 1765. [2] *R. I. C. R.*, vi. 379.
[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Aug. 2, 1762, has list of prices for freight.
[4] Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 254.
[5] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 84.

In Newport, they charged more than the customary fees as allowed by law. The merchants made a public remonstrance,[1] bound themselves not to pay the extra charges, and to assist each other and all strangers in resisting payment.

Difficulties in enforcing laws.

Seizures were made occasionally, and some illegal commerce was stopped, but enforcement of laws[2] was not easy, in the condition of the popular mind. Information given against smugglers engaged in evading the revenue would cause a riot, and one informant at Newbury[3] was tarred and feathered. An importer at Newport had sworn to his cargo of molasses at 50 hhds. The count showed more than 80, though some had been landed already. The cargo was seized; but a mob in disguise came at night and took away all the cargo except the 50 hhds. which had been regularly entered.[4] Vessels were generally brought into port after dark, their cargoes being discharged and secreted under cover of the friendly night. All kinds of tricks served to divert and foil the officers of the crown. In Gloucester,[5] half a cargo had been secured, when morning came and with it the royal officer from Salem. The town at that time maintained a watch-house, during a temporary alarm concerning smallpox, where strangers were stopped and fumigated. McKean, a stout Irishman, kept watch and ward. Duly inspired by Colonel Foster, the owner of the offending vessel, he seized the inspector of customs, kept him through the day, and dismissed him after nightfall, freed from all infection. The moral infection of the irregular cargo remained unchanged, however.

While the favored whites of English and American

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Sept. 21, 1769.

[2] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 261; *Bos. News Let.*, July 13, Sept. 11, Nov. 9, 1769.

[3] Coffin, p. 235.

[4] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, i. 125.

[5] Babson, p. 387.

descent were preparing their great struggle for political freedom, they busily plied the dark commerce for bringing their black brethren out of personal liberty into the hard manacles of slavery. White freedom and black slavery. The trade to the coast of Guinea for negroes was under full headway in all this period. A writer in the "News Letter" claimed that, "upon examining the imports of negroes," [1] 23,743 were "brought into this province" from 1756 to 1766, or an average of 2,374 for each year, according to his statement. I think he must have included the Newport importation in his sum total for "this province." No other figures show such immense dealings as this would give to the mart of Boston. The main disposition of the New England cargoes was in the West Indies. The greater part of the blacks never touched our soil. They were advertised freely in Boston, but there could not have been two thousand and more sold in Massachusetts in every year. In 1762 [2] a "number of prime Goree and Senegal slaves" were just imported and for sale. In 1761 the thrifty descendants of the old Puritans could trade off, in this naïve and interesting manner, lean morals and brawny muscles in bulk for more muscles in little, with undeveloped souls, untainted except by their original sin: "A parcel of likely negroes, cheap for cash. Also if any persons have any negro men, strong and hearty, tho' not of the best moral character, which are proper subjects for transportation, may have an exchange for small negroes." [3] Is not that a delicious and artless mixture of the casuistry of culture with rude, impassioned humanity, — a commingling hash of Satanic civilisation and simple, savage nature?

Connecticut imported a few Africans. Samuel Willis, at Middletown, advertised in 1761 "several likely Negro Boys and Girls: arrived from the coast of Africa." [4] But

[1] *Bos. News Let.*, Aug. 10, 1769. [2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, June 14, 1762.
[3] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Aug. 3, 1761. [4] *Hist. New Haven*, p. 64.

the great market for this traffic was at Newport. The trade seems to have been especially stimulated about the time of the Peace of Paris. Newport had engaged in 1763 some 20 sail of vessels, with a capacity for 9,000 hhds. of rum; "too much for the coast." [1] The common price of a slave on the coast had risen to 200 gallons of rum, and Barbadoes even gave 270 gallons in one instance.

The educating power of a great popular and national movement took effect at last and influenced this traffic.

Freedom gradually prevails.

The Association of the Colonies in 1774 agreed to prohibit it. Rhode Island, in forbidding the further importation of negroes into her own territory, stated as a reason that those "desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves should be willing to extend personal liberty to others." But with curious inconsistency, she did not regard this principle as extending so far as the West Indies; for the traffic there was not interrupted. So difficult it is for ethics to prevail over commerce!

While our colonists were bringing in the black savages from Africa, the copper-colored prototypes native to the soil were moving backward and fading away.

Indian trade.

The Indian trade either went to Canada or concentrated itself at Albany. Furs had become of slight consequence in the New England exchanges. Soon after the Canadian conquest, the Americans were much impressed by the magnitude and importance of the trade in furs there. Probably the conviction [2] that there was much profit in the great Northwestern Indian trade did much in promoting the unfortunate expeditions to Canada attempted during the Revolutionary struggle.

The shipping for our home trade, and for sale abroad,

[1] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, v. 76; see Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 56, for list of slavers.

[2] See *Bos. News Let.*, Dec. 17, 1772; and *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, vii. 954.

was built chiefly in northeastern Massachusetts and New Hampshire. These two colonies built rather more than one half the American tonnage from 1769 to 1771, or from 10,000 tons to 12,000 tons.[1] Along the Connecticut River, lumbermen felled trees in the winter to be floated down in the spring, and cut into lumber at points below. But the virgin forests on the streams flowing eastward and southeastward were birthplaces for vessels. Shipbuilding in the large way had not gone east of the Piscataqua as yet. The largest vessel launched in Wells, Me., by 1767, was a schooner of 88 tons.[2] Shipbuilding.

The older ports could not compete with the new settlements amid the timber. When the great trees had been exhausted on the river bank, gangs of shipwrights went a mile or two into the forests, seeking to join the naiad and the dryad nymphs. Here on the upland they would build a vessel of 100 tons or more, mount her on strong sledges of timber, hitch in a team of 200 oxen, and drag her in triumph over the snow until she rested on the frozen surface of a navigable stream.[3] When the ice melted she abandoned this unnatural elevation, and the water nymphs took her to their own home. Fishing schooners and whaleboats could be easily handled in this manner. At seven and eight miles from the stream, vessels were built, taken in pieces, and then carried by common teams to the launching place.

These monster teams of oxen were organised at first to bring the great mast trees[4] — often 120 feet long — out of the forest to the river brink. It was exceedingly difficult to start so many inert beasts into a living, moving team; it was called "raising them." The work once done, the listless and restless, the active Great teams.

[1] Macpherson, *An. of Commerce*, iii. 570.

[2] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 570.

[3] Belknap, *N. H.*, iii. 209. [4] Burnaby, *Travels N. A.*, p. 152.

and lazy, mass, fairly started into harmonious action, nothing must stop. If an ox was ill — as sometimes happened — his lashings were cut, and another forced into his vacant place, the team not losing its headway.

In felling these immense trees used for masts, they were obliged to exercise great care. Often the trunk was bare for 80 or 100 feet, and it would shatter and break unless protected in its fall. On the side where they proposed to lay it, the workmen would bring small trees, or fell any standing there. The process was called "bedding," and on this natural mattress the mighty shaft of pine was stretched without injury. The largest were three feet in diameter.[1] They generally cut for a mast three feet in length for each inch of diameter; the yards and bowsprits were shorter in proportion.

New Hampshire shipyards.

These building operations were carried along every branch of the Piscataqua, and brought out not less than 200 vessels per annum.[2] Newburyport[3] had seventy-two vessels on the stocks at one time. Among the curious municipal functions there was a shipyard located on her common land, and she charged threepence per ton for the privilege of building. Some merchants in Portsmouth each built a dozen vessels in a year, generally of 200 tons to 300 tons burden. The building was profitable; it was a large barter. The English merchants contracting for the vessels sent out cordage, anchors, canvas, etc., the year before the building. Moreover, Portsmouth[4] was exporting to the West Indies, and would ship the produce received there to England for liquidating debts made for European goods used in constructing vessels, or in paying laborers employed on them. Smaller vessels, taking the West India returns, would distribute them in the Southern colonies, then bring corn,

[1] See lists in Belknap, iii. 103.

[2] Burnaby, *Trav. N. A.*, p. 150.

[3] Smith, pp. 61, 65.

[4] Adams, p. 258.

rice, flour, pork, tar, pitch, etc., homeward to the Piscataqua. The best cordage came from abroad, but three ropewalks were producing in Portsmouth.

It is said that solid rafts of timber and lumber were rudely shaped into hulls, with small spaces left in the centre, where the crew and provisions were kept. Rigged with ingenuity, and navigated with great skill and courage, they made their way across the seas to England. Captain Rose, of Newburyport,[1] carried one to London in twenty-six days from home. A "tow of masts" was taken up at Salter's Beach, Duxbury.[2] Ocean timber-rafts.

Light-houses were erected 1768–1771 at Plymouth Harbor, Thatcher's Island, the latter in preference to Cape Ann.[3]

The commerce, which had grown from such small beginnings in the seventeenth century, was soon shattered and nearly destroyed in the punishment administered by the mother country to her rebellious child. Mankind made great gains by the American Revolution. All that was destroyed weighed little as against the mighty creation of that epoch. A development of representative institutions on that broad basis which included the play of the individual freeman on the one side and the local autonomy of great states on the other, all interlocking together by a marvellous distribution of political power, the whole regulated by that great legal tribunal, the Supreme Court, — that was a world-triumph. The whole world gained by such an exposition of government on the ample field of the new Americas. But it was a purely political gain, carrying with it the social blessings good politics always convey. Commerce lost, while liberty, law, and government gained. Both England and America lost wealth on the high seas, until Commercial loss, political gain.

[1] Smith, p. 65.

[2] *Bos. News Letter*, April 16, 1762.

[3] *Mass. Arch.*, lxvi. 429, 485, 494.

the younger and poorer community replaced her shattered vessels by larger ones with better cargoes. Both nations lost at first, and probably England never recovered commercially the results of her mistaken political adventure.

CHAPTER XX.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMERCE.

1775–1783.

The words indicate sufficiently the tremendous changes brought into the commercial life of our country by her struggle for independence. Under the sharp necessity of the time, skippers were soon passing into captains of fleets; fishermen were yielding the stuff of heroes; trading merchants were converting their ships into arsenals, their merchandise into munitions of war. Privateers were well named the "militia of the sea." Captain Mugford, in the schooner Franklin, from Marblehead, in June, 1776, took the British ship Hope, with 1,500 half-barrels of powder and other stores. General Ward recognised the great value of the exploit in his report: "The country owes in some degree its independence to him."[1] Trade was blocked or interrupted so that legitimate ventures could not hope for success; but the commerce of "our unnatural enemies," as the timely phrase ran, was subjected to the enterprising grasp of the peaceful fisher folk and sailors, now turned into fighting Tritons.

War changes.

Private war upon the seas became a cheerful pastime to the bold and ingenious crews, a fascinating series of ventures for the owners on shore. At first profitable, after Newport and New York had been occupied and the coasts thoroughly patrolled by the royal navy, the business soon became much more hazardous. Seamen left the British service, changed their names, and enlisted in the Yankee

[1] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1791–1835, p. 353.

privateers.[1] At this period the Loyalists retaliated, also, with great effect, upon our commerce, and upon the French, after the British government loosened the sea-dogs of war against his Christian majesty.[2] Lord George Germain and Governor Tryon, of New York, mutually congratulated themselves that they had secured the issuing of letters of marque against opposition at home. Tryon reported, June 29, 1779, that the privateers' crews from New York numbered more than 6,000 men, "many of whom are Converts from the Rebels, and others persecuted Loyalists."[3] Within five months 142 prizes were carried into that port.

Privateering.

Our ventures were at their lowest ebb about 1777; later on, as the French fleet supported our forces and the British became less active, the American privateers made good headway again. The business was then profitable, the prizes frequent, and the New England ports bustling with the activity it occasioned. Britons could not believe that the injuries inflicted on their commerce came from the natural resources of America. Lord Sheffield, the best informed of the English writers on American commerce, claimed after the peace that three fourths of the crews in American privateers were European sailors. So little could insular prejudice comprehend of the inherent forces working in the Revolutionary contest! The partisans of the seas were generally of native growth, and their spirit was all American wherever they were born.

Boston[4] had, according to the lists of the Massachusetts Archives, 365 vessels[5] commissioned during the term of the Revolution in this international piracy. It

[1] *R. I. Arch.*, James Watson's affidavit.

[2] *Doc. N. York*, viii. 746, 748, 754, 756, 761.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 772.

[4] *Mem. Hist.*, iii. 118.

[5] For the whole list of Massachusetts privateers see Preble's account in *N. E. H. and G. Reg.*, xxv. 362–369; xxvi. 21–29.

was legitimate warfare,[1] because the nations had not yet outgrown this form of barbaric private war, as they had gradually risen above other forms of it. No contests in all history better brought out the qualities of individual men, or yielded such immediate results to enterprise and valor. It was a border region of human experience, containing the wealth and prizes of civilised order, yet admitting the wild encounter and fierce bravery of barbaric life.

At the various ports.

Boston probably sent out vessels owned wholly or in part by merchants living in the other ports not as favorably situated as she was after the evacuation. Salem had a large number of vessels; Felt[2] puts it at 180, mounting from six to twenty guns each. The number recorded in 1782 was larger than in any other year. Felt's list of prizes for the whole war was 445, though he said it was incomplete from the nature of the case. The hazard to British commerce was felt immediately. The rate of insurance from West Indies to England rose to 23 per cent. in 1776.

Sheffield claims that Rhode Island issued nearly two hundred commissions.[3] In the latter part of the war her ports were lively, and her admiralty judges were busy in condemning prizes. Poor Newport! Her open port and advantage of situation proved her ruin. The royal fleets and armies could not hold Boston, but they secured New York, and for nearly four years Newport was held hard and fast under the lion's claws. She lost her commerce forever. Her wealth was wasted, and the opportunity of privateering afforded by the Narragansett inland sea was

[1] For the "resolves" of Congress, and consequent methods of privateering, see *R. I. C. R.*, vii. 481, 535–537.

[2] *Annals Salem*, ii. 267, 268, 277; and see *Proc. M. H. S.* 1884, p. 21.

[3] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 29. See list of prizes, p. 63; also *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 105.

checked and half destroyed. As it was, these fascinating ventures on the high seas, so dear to the Rhode Island individual independence and courage, absorbed much of her energy and public spirit. The little state furnished her quotas of regular troops, and they were good in quality. Her large infusion of Quaker blood never lowered her fighting spirit.

Rhode Island is checked.

Privateering was so popular that the Assembly[1] checked it in 1776, and found it necessary in 1780 to limit the number of officers and men at twelve for each vessel. The "Intendants of Trade," who had direct control of the movements of privateers, were directed to require from captains positive proof that the towns had furnished their quotas of enlisted men, — towns from whence the privateering crews had come. John Paul Jones, starting on his splendid exploits, was fortunate enough to get away in The Alfred before Admiral Parker, with his overwhelming fleet, came into the Bay. Jones stopped at Martha's Vineyard to overhaul one privateer Eagle, Isaac Field, master, taking from her by force twenty-four men for his own crew.[2]

Connecticut sent vessels from New London[3] frequently, with a few from Hartford and New Haven.[4] Between March and June, 1779, nine "New York or Tory" privateers were captured and carried into New London. This port was so closely watched by the British fleet that its operations were made very uncertain. It is doubtful if the business, as a whole, paid much profit.

Newburyport, Mass.,[5] sent out twenty-two vessels, with varying success. Her business suffered severely, early in the war, by the non-importation, and the suspension of shipbuilding for export. She recompensed herself and

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 434; ix. 144; Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 388.
[2] Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 30.
[3] Caulkins, pp. 540–545.
[4] *Hist. New Haven*, p. 91.
[5] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 407; Smith, *Newburyport*, pp. 104, 106.

nearly made up her losses by the prizes. Gloucester [1] and Marblehead embarked a great many privateers. The superstition of the seventeenth century crops out occasionally, and an instance occurs in the loss of the ship Tempest. A severe thunderstorm overtook her, and she was lost at sea. The religious feeling — as it was termed — of the community was much shocked that in her name her owners had dared to brave the elements.

The commerce from Nova Scotia, Annapolis, and Halifax to the West Indies, also from Liverpool to these points, also the Portugal ventures from England, — freights which New Englanders once carried for themselves, — they now followed with privateers. Wherever a keel could be laid successfully, or be floated beyond reach of the British cruisers, the Yankee shipwright and bold rover of the seas started his little craft. Often under one hundred tons, they carried heavy guns, brave warriors, skilful and dashing sailors. All the scattered literature [2] of the Revolution contains traces of their work.

All the archives in New England contain many original documents of interest relating to this subject. These are in themselves an abstract of the commerce, fettered and interrupted by the great wars, but continued through all the hazards these wars occasioned. To the greater romance of war was added every possible vicissitude of commerce on the high seas, as when the schooner Le Comite, from Nantz in France for Virginia, was taken by the British armed sloop Hibernia in 1780.[3] She was recaptured by an American privateer and condemned, one half to the captors, one half to her friendly owners, the French. An invoice of thirty-one pages covered a great variety of merchandise, dry goods, broadcloths, medicines, etc., in great detail. The

Commerce in privateering.

[1] Babson, pp. 73, 86, 99, 125, 399, 410–414, 417, 423.

[2] See *Proc. M. H. S.* 1791–1835, pp. 317, 353; also 1860, p. 347; Hunt's *Amer. Merch.*, vols. i., ii.

[3] *R. I. Arch.* at Providence.

Philadelphia schooner Molly[1] had a similar experience. The Diamond,[2] owned by Nicholas and John Brown, of Providence, captured in 1776 The Star and Garter, of Exeter, England, last from St. Christopher's. Her papers show the list of enumerated commodities in actual practice, viz.: "Any Sugars, Tobaccos, Cotton-Wooll, Indico, Ginger, Fustick, or other Dying-Wood; as also Rice, Melasses, Tar, Pitch, Turpentine, Hemp, Masts, Yards, Bowsprits, Copper-Ore, Beaver Skins or other Furs, Coffee, Pimento, Cocoa-Nuts, Whale Fins, Raw Silk,

[1] *R. I. Arch.* 1779:—

INVOICE SUNDRIES ship[d] by Stephen Cronio on board of the Sloop Molly, Capt McKeever for Phila on Account & Risque of Mess. Matt[w] Irvin & Co Merchants there and consigned to them.

6 Hhds Brown Sugar		
10,000		
1,100 Tare at 11 p ct		
8,900 Nett at 33 p	£2,937 00 00	
Coopering the Same 25 p . . .	150 00 00	£3,087 00 00
12 Casks of Saffia £96	£1,152 00 00	
2 " " £90	180 00 00	1,332 00 00
12 bbls Coffee 2089 Nett 10/6 . .	£1,096 14 6	
Cask & Coopge £3.15	45 00 00	1,141 14 6
		£5,560 14 6
Charges.		
To Jayun Flat having to carry Sug. on board	£24 00 00	
To Cash pd Duty cus. h. Sug. Coffee & Saffia	211 8 7	
Carting Coffee to whf	2 5 0	237 13 7
		£5,798 8 1

Built at Bermuda 1772

Cleared Nav off Phila Nov 10, 1778.

Taken prize by Privateer Brig Dunmore.

Retaken, carried into Warren to unlade on account of ice at Prov. and into John Foster's Maritime Court.

[2] *R. I. Arch.* at Providence.

Hides and Skins, Pot and Pearl Ashes; of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of any British plantation in America, Asia, or Africa." She gave bond to deposit any such goods "on shore" in some port of Great Britain proper.

Generally the owners of the privateer took one half the prize money, as in the account of the Gamecock;[1] the officers and crew took the remainder in varying proportions.

Brilliant exploits, courage, skill of the highest order, audacity beyond measure, shine through the records of these partisan heroes. The damage inflicted by this warfare on the older and richer combatant was incalculable. As Dr. Hale has shown,[2] England was injured in her resources

[1] From *Miller Papers* at Newburgh, N. Y. Miller, of Hartford, managed several privateers, — sloop Raven, schooner Revenge, and others.

DR. OWNERS SLOOP GAMECOCK *in Acct with* MILLER & OLMSTED. CR.

1779 Sept.	To 2466¾ Galls. Rum delivered to the Owners at £7.16	£19,236.15.0	1770 Sept.	By half the Neat Proceeds of the Gamecock's proportion of rum out of the Prize Schooner Reward,	£19,288.17.3
	Balance due owners .	867.13.1		By half the Neat Proceeds of the Schooner Reward & appurtenances, &c., belonging to the Gamecock,	815.10.10
		£20,104.8.1			£20,104.8.1
	To ⅛ Bal. due Elisha Pitkin, Jr. . . .	£216.18.3¼		By Bal. due the Owners	£867.13.1.
	To $\frac{3}{32}$ Bal. due Jonathan Waldron . .	81.6.10¼			
	To $\frac{3}{32}$ Bal. due Aaron Olmsted	352.9.8¼			
	To ⅛ Bal. due Abraham Miller . . .	216.18.3¼			

Hartford, Sept 27th 1779
Errors Excepted
MILLER & OLMSTED.

[2] *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, vi. 584, 585; and see notes, pp. 591, 592.

more upon the seas than in her actual losses on the land.

Elias Hasket Derby.

It is proper that especial mention be made of Elias Hasket Derby,[1] of Salem, for his achievements in this warlike commerce, and because he was a type of the period. Of a maritime lineage, his father Richard, captain at the age of twenty-four, was an excellent specimen of the resolute, self-possessed shipmasters and owners of the middle eighteenth century. Elias was born in 1739, and from 1760 to 1775 was his father's accountant and confidential manager, while he steadily built up a business of his own. He owned seven sail, ranging from 60 to 100 tons, and was worth $50,000. The outbreak of the Revolution swept away a large part of his earnings. At the end of the first year, he faced a ruined trade, and there was no opportunity of recovery through the old channels.

On the other hand, new channels were opening. Boston, New York, Newport, Philadelphia, were occupied or soon to be occupied, by the powerful enemy. Salem, and the little fishing ports roundabout, offered comparatively safe ground whence privateers could fit out and attack the British commerce. Derby was prominent, and generally the chief owner, in fitting out the Salem fleet of "at least 158 armed vessels mounting more than 2,000 cannon." They brought in more than 445 prizes.

He was not content with the small type of vessels which constituted the first letters of marque. The British were sending large private vessels, and the naval cruisers made short work of the "Yankee privateer" when they could catch him. Derby established shipyards, studied plans for himself, and projected larger, swifter, and finer vessels than had prevailed. In speed they could outsail the sturdy but slower Englishman, and in weight of armament they could cope with the royal sloops of war.

[1] Hunt's *Merch. Mag.*, v. 36, 155 *et seq.*

Derby's Grand Turk, Astrea, Light Horse, and Hasket & John, were ships ranging from 300 to 360 tons. In brigs he owned three, — Henry, Cato, and Three Sisters.

These seven vessels, superior in their size, form, and quality, represented his property at the end of the war. At the beginning he had seven small sloops and schooners. His experience is a fair type of the adventures of America in private war with England. The Americans lost their first commerce; they replaced it with better vessels of larger burden. They could carry larger cargoes, and they had the property to fill them. The old merchants — the Tories — were generally driven out; they were replaced by a new order of men, not as cultured but more adventurous and vigorous than the exiles. After the United States accomplished its final union, these men led in opening the great Chinese and India trade.

Typical experience in privateering.

Elias Hasket Derby died in 1799, worth about one million dollars. He was of true constructive genius in affairs. Occasional instances are recorded illustrating his sagacious comprehension of his fellow-men. He was cheated once by a man who wore nankeen breeches. He then told his clerks: "Never trust a man again who comes here in January dressed in nankeen: if he cheats himself he will certainly cheat us." Like all hasty generalisations, this did not work. A rich Boston merchant came to Salem in Derby's absence, and was refused credit on account of the interdicted costume. He went away in high dudgeon. But when the yellow-breeched magnate learned all the circumstances, he joined in laughing at the joke, which told as well against Derby as against himself.

A sagacious and patriotic merchant.

In keeping a model farm he showed the same adaptive skill that built the successful privateers. He was of large public spirit. At the time of the battle of Lexington he loaned "the government a large proportion of the sup-

plies for the army, and took their obligations for so much specie." This debt was unsettled in 1790. He supplied the boats for Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island. He furnished the French fleet with coal, and was among the sufferers on whom our government inflicted the famous "French spoliations." He was tall, finely developed in his person, and of elegant manners. Grave and careful, bold in projecting, exact and methodical in conducting his enterprises, he may be considered a model merchant. A good husband and father, a sound citizen, few men have left a more fragrant memory.

I could give most interesting details of adventure culled from these scattered records, but it would extend far beyond my limits. We should have a well-digested history of privateering, from the French and Spanish wars to the gallant encounter with our English cousins in 1812. We have lost our natural place on the seas, but not necessarily forever. The descendants of the vikings will return again to their native element. The deeds of privateers and whalemen should be cherished by our generation, for the benefit of the grandsons of those who built the clipper merchantmen. Those strong-winged gulls in timber put swift girdles about the earth in the days when the new gold made nimble commerce everywhere. Our American race, which has mastered the seas so often, has not weakened its fibre nor lost its invention. When it fairly takes in hand again ocean navigation, it must win anew the wide-reaching seas our sires loved and occupied so well.

The seas lost, but not forever.

Illicit trade was carried on from Long Island and Block Island with the mainland, and our government watched those shores constantly.[1] The privateers, also, often seized vessels which were convicted or suspected of irregular commerce.[2] The British were charged with un-

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 367, 369, 592 ; Caulkins, *New London*, p. 523.

[2] See case of sloop Fancy, in *R. I. Arch.*

lawful use of the commissions of officers and crews, or the papers taken from American privateers. Congress prescribed[1] especial forms of commissions which could not be converted to any unlawful use by the enemy.

The former commerce of the country was largely superseded by this trade in irregular but abundant supplies of wares taken from the rich commerce of the enemy. Articles actually needed for the comfort of a household were generally to be had in the marts of trade, and luxuries were not wanting. "An assortment of very fine and beautiful Patches, also German flutes and best Roman violin strings," as advertised,[2] shows that all tastes were reasonably well satisfied. New England felt occasional but not constant privation.

Supplies irregular, but sufficient

A large majority of the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Newport being Loyalists, their business was broken, their estates generally were confiscated, and many of them fled into exile. A new order of men came forward, and transacted the business incident to the new conditions of the country. Moreover, as the chapter on the internal affairs of these states indicates, the people, during the Revolution, had paused for the moment in their natural commercial development, and had become an industrial community almost self-sustaining. This result was achieved very soon. Boston, and through her the district of Massachusetts, was much fettered and hindered by the outbreak of revolution, and by the hostilities of the first year. But in less than a year Massachusetts had recovered all her losses. April 4, 1777, a merchant could say: "Though our money has depreciated, the internal strength of the Country is greater than when the war began; and there is hardly a town that has not more ratable polls than at that time. And though many individuals suffer, yet the farmer and the bulk of the people gain by the war; and Great Britain

A self-sustaining people.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 322.

[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, June 29, 1781.

therefore ought not to think of ever getting a peace without allowing independence."[1] Salaried men, and the few persons living on capitalised incomes, suffered, but the producers gained steadily.

Among the foolish economic expedients[2] attempted by the authorities in the beginning of the struggle, was a proposed limitation of trade between one part of Massachusetts and another. Also the export of lumber to foreign ports was proposed. These measures produced no positive effect, and December 31, 1776, Congress formally removed the old restrictions of the Navigation Acts on the export of lumber to ports other than those of Great Britain.[3] Some trade was carried on with France direct,[4] especially to Bordeaux and Nantes. The State of Massachusetts sent there two hhds. of furs, chiefly otter and beaver; a shipment of oil, at £3.10 per ton of 252 gallons for freight to Bordeaux, was proposed. The shipments also included rice and West India products. But the chief business was done with the West Indies, as in the old and regular times. The cargoes included fish, lumber, cooperage stock, and sometimes bricks, with the usual returns. Permits were granted for this intercourse, as it was overlooked by the authorities.[5] Congress was tinkering constantly with commerce,[6] trying to get the control, which the states as yet meant to keep for themselves.

Expedients in legislation.

The cash disbursed by the French forces gave considerable impetus to trade. It made a direct demand for merchandise, and afforded a good medium of exchange. One party, Mr. Amory, of Boston, remitted more than 100,000 livres in a short period during the year 1781.[7]

[1] J. and J. Amory, *MS. Letters.* [2] *Mass. Arch.*, ccx. 114.

[3] *Mass. Arch.*, ccxi. 453.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxxxviii. 360, 361; clvii. 20, 27; cli. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, clvii. 2, 8, 62; clxvi. 282; clxxxii. 311; ccx. 36; *N. H. State P.*, viii. 562; Stone, *Beverly*, p. 319.

[6] Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 28. [7] J. and J. Amory, *MS. Letters.*

European goods were in good demand then, and those from the East Indies especially so, — linens, calicoes, gauzes, pins, needles, cutlery, etc. The wants in these latter years of the war were such as a people experience who are living in comfort. French silks, cambrics, etc., are called for. "I would observe that people dress as much and as extravagantly as ever. The ladies lay out much on their heads, in flowers and white gauze; and hoop petticoats seem *crawling* in."[1] The belles of the Hub at Boston and those of distant, ocean-bound and cruiser-watched Block Island, had the same wants for "gauze" and at the same time.

The trade to the Salt Islands in the West Indies was important, and the scarcity of salt at times, occasioned by its interruption, was a hardship. The papers of the brig Nancy, sent out from Wickford, R. I., in 1776,[2] are interesting, as showing the method of the voyage and of handling small brigs at that time. Probably they had more time, in a small port on Narragansett Bay, to consider affairs seriously, than sailors and shipping masters had in larger Boston and New York. The sailors signed a curious agreement, binding them to thorough obedience, on penalty of forfeiting their wages, especially if absent twenty-four hours in any port without leave. Moreover, "Every Lawfull Command of the Commanding officer of S^d^ Vessell in Suppressing Immorality Sin of all Kinds" was to be enforced under the penalty. It is not recorded whether or not the good Nancy, Captain Baker, achieved a moral and sinless voyage under such excellent provisions.

Method of voyages.

The price of a brigantine complete with her stores, in the same year, at Providence, was £318.[3]

The fishermen did not cease throwing hook, line, and

[1] J. and J. Amory, *MS. Letters.*

[2] See Appendix H.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 103.

seine, though their industry was fettered, and their markets were precarious. I have memoranda of four distinct cargoes to the West Indies from Massachusetts in 1777,[1] including considerable quantities of codfish, as well as some salmon and mackerel.

Trade was liable to constant interruption, but commodities were produced, and the advertisements[2] show that they were moved outward to meet the foreign demand. A person having either vessel, lumber, or fish would advertise for partners who could furnish the elements lacking for a foreign shipment.

Underwriting.

War had frequently been a disturbing hazard in our commerce, but a civil war increased all the adverse chances. The business of insurance, or underwriting, grew in consequence. After the evacuation of Boston, Edward Payne — one of the adventurers in European commerce — came home and established an office for insurance. He concentrated the most of the business in the town,[3] continuing it until his death in 1788. The practice was to open a policy guaranteeing the risk; then any responsible parties would underwrite their names for fixed sums, each receiving his apportioned part of the premium. Newburyport had an office of its own, opened about the same time.[4]

Interruptions in coasting.

The intercourse by coasting vessels, always so positive an element in the prosperity of New England, was much affected by the war and the vexatious interruptions of the British fleets. Occasionally rice from South Carolina,[5] tobacco from Virginia, with some naval stores and the agricultural products of the Southern States, came through to New England. West India products were in constant demand, and were carried

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, clvii. 2, 8; clxvi. 282; ccxiii. 375.

[2] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Nov. 27, 1779.

[3] *M. H. S. Proc.* 1873, p. 418.

[4] See Smith's *Newburyport*, p. 72, for form of the old policies.

[5] *Mass. Arch.*, clvii. 17.

from the seaports to the interior. When the king's cruisers were not in the way, the coasters took them by water; rum, sugar, and molasses being the chief necessaries. A cargo from Boston to Great Barrington and Williamstown contained 11 hdds. and 6 tierces of rum, 3 bbls. of wine, 2 do. of brandy, ½ bale of cotton, and 1 small cask of indigo.[1] The proportion of "wet goods" to the small quantity of cotton and indigo is significant, and indicates the prevailing appetites. Another vessel carried 3 hhds. of rum, 2 of sugar to Connecticut, and returned 4,000 lbs. of flax.[2]

Unfriendly state legislation.

As we have seen in the early days, the great internal trade between our colonies was occasionally interrupted by brief spasms of legislative interference. One of these occurred between the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1777.[3] The first named prohibited the export of rum, molasses, cotton, or woollen goods, wool, leather, and many necessary articles. New Hampshire laid the same restrictions, and searched vessels going out of Portsmouth to enforce them.

Prerogative over masts fails.

In this account of a commerce that was revolutionary, we may fitly consider the destruction of the great mast trade, or the furnishing of the royal navy with masts and spars. The romance of the primeval forests of New England had centred itself in these imperial trees. Wherever a lofty pine lifted its head above its common fellows, the crown surveyor had found his way and had marked it with the broad arrow; after this royal appropriation, it could not be felled for common uses. These favorites of Nature had been monuments of proper prerogative, and in many instances landmarks of the bureaucratic insolence which often ministered between that prerogative and the loyal subjects. I have

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, cxcvi. 284.
[2] *Ibid.*, ccxiv. 176.
[3] *N. H. H. C.*, vii. 80.

described the great occasions when all the country's oxen, and all the country's men, worked together in behalf of the king in conveying these monstrous trunks of timber to their places of embarkation.

Very early, the intuition of the people taught them that these symbols of sovereignty must be stopped in their course to the naval arsenals of Britain. Even after Lexington, a large minority of people hoped for some composition of the unhappy differences. The royal business of securing the masts went on, in halting fashion. May 17, 1775, a brig from England came into Portsmouth on the usual errand. A ship just built at Casco Bay arrived at the same time in Portsmouth "with an intention to load masts which are now ready for her."[1] But the local authorities took alarm, and waited for "the opinion of the Congress touching the Propriety of shiping the Masts." The capitals of the old-time spelling sometimes emphasised the right words. Now events shaped opinions very fast. Early in May there had been a naval conflict on the south shore of Massachusetts. On the 12th June, the former subjects dwelling at Machias, Me., seized his Majesty's sloop Margaretta. There was no more question of sending the mighty sticks across the waters, whence they might bring back ships, guns, and men to chastise the king's rebellious children. If any were taken away, it was in the illicit commerce of timber, which the French tried to stop in 1778. Their minister, with the approval of Congress, offered a reward to any vessel taking or destroying a "vessel of the enemy loaded with masts or spars, and destined to the ports of Halifax, Newport, or New York."[2] The broad arrow-marks remained in their places of abode. Many of these trees took new growth from republican soil. They even served in equipping the stout cruisers of 1812, in which the children of Revolutionary sires fairly beat the great navy that

[1] *Prov. P. N. H.*, vii. 461. [2] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 493.

had once absorbed all the imperial trees of the subject colonies.

We part with genuine regret from the royal arrow and the towering pine, — monuments of Nature's original dominion over these lands of New England; they became the high marks of royal assertion, the silent proclamations of kingly control and administration. New England did not overcome her royal allegiance, nor give herself over to untried ways of government, without severe agony. We may well partake of her mental struggles in that crucial time. A king! if the man could embody and represent the power of the institution, what one of us would not render a subject's gratitude to the imperial ruler? Such was not to be the outgrowth of modern governmental ideas; yet while the idea changed in form, little was lost in substance. The arrow mark was outgrown, and enveloped by the abounding life of Nature. The pine did not halt, but continued its upward sovereign course. The towering masts of the republic, though stripped of the romance of royalty and the glamour of prerogative, stepped themselves firmly in the solid heart of the people.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GREATER COMMUNITY FORMING ITSELF INTO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1775–1783.

In the seventeenth century, we found the impelling purpose of the colonists who settled these lands, organised living, and formed an orderly society, to be a profound social impulse, religious, political, and economic, which manifested itself in the rapid development of numerous towns, perhaps the most consistent instruments of government the world knew at that time. These towns formed partial assemblies or colonial legislatures, then gradually put forth powers trenching on those of Parliament, and seriously affecting the free exercise of the royal prerogative.

Towns and assemblies.

In the Revolution, that social impulse underlying the New England town as a political entity, forming the community, as I have termed it, was putting forth a larger organism, — a union of the colonies, which ultimately worked out the imperial unity of the United States of America. This does not arrogate too much for the town. That was simply the best medium of a governing spirit which was deeper than any town, or than any one part of the American people. New England never could have accomplished independence alone. Virginia gave the larger motives which finally brought empire; and Washington, the god-descended individual who made a nation possible and brought in the state, was not and could not have been of New England.

Communities and a nation.

The great master of American history has said that the Declaration of Independence gave the American people "a single and inspiring purpose."[1] That purpose changed the people from an aggregation of fellows — male and female — into a vigorous, aggressive society, which never rested until it became an organised body politic, a state. The individual citizen fighting in the Louisburg trenches, then bringing sugar from the West Indies in defiance of law, then suppressing stamps and collectors in defiance of the crown, — this citizen had come to regard himself as a political as well as a trading animal. He cried out, Where is my state? The family, church, nation, all are here; where is my government, — the seat of power, the throne, whether royal or representative, to which I shall bow down in respectful and enduring allegiance? The economic and social life that had been working itself upward for two generations, creating political grievances by the way, now burst the shackles of grievance and sprang forth from the Jove of Nations, — a spirit of liberty and of empire.

Birth of the citizen.

It is true this spirit had to content itself with such earthen vessels as it found. Then, as always in our history, the spirit of the people was essentially larger than any persons or coteries which it embraced. Many times in the war, the inferiority of statesmen and the incompetency of generals seemed about to overwhelm the high genius of the people, and to consign the country to disaster. But the same high purpose and impulse that started the country upon its mission prevailed over every mischance, doubt, and defeat, until triumph was assured.

In fact, so little of this deeper purpose and stronger impulse, this fibre of a community, appeared on the surface, or affected the common acts of individuals, that observers had denied its existence. I have cited[2] Burnaby, the learned and generally acute traveller.

Patriotism a slow growth.

[1] Bancroft, *U. S.* v. 3.

[2] See above, p. 755.

He saw, as he thought, "insuperable causes of weakness" which must inevitably prevent the growth of a great state on these shores. Once emancipated from British control, there would be civil war from "one end of the continent to the other," while the Indians and negroes would exterminate the surviving combatants. James Otis was sure that independent America would be "a mere shambles of blood and confusion." Patriotism was not created in a moment. The passion was born; but patriotic strong-doing, — the transmutation of the grand, heroic forces into the small change of petty, popular action — this, like all good work, had to be worked out with much hardship and minute detail.

England had believed during the agitations begun by Grenville that the civilised needs of the colonists, so to speak, — the wants for clothing, luxuries, and refinements, — would compel the rebels to return speedily to their wonted allegiance. In vain Franklin and the class of European observers like Burke told Parliament and the extreme advocates of royal prerogative that these expectations were fallacious. A rich country, an ingenious and capable people, were not to succumb, enervated by the wants their own development of civilisation had created. Out of the patriotic impulse of the rising state, there was to come new invention and ready enterprise for supplying the yawning necessities of a civilisation sundered by the rebellion from its natural supports in Old England.

Manufactures.

In manufactures the new citizens began at once to make the munitions of war. Clothing had been increased considerably by the homespun efforts for several years, as we have seen. Gunpowder and its constituent saltpetre were made in many towns.[1] Families were encouraged to preserve nitre in every possible way; though the legislatures did not go as far as the early colonists who appointed "conscionable men"

[1] Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 147; Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 82.

to superintend these processes of gathering saltpetre out of the domestic economy. Massachusetts offered bounties on sulphur [1] to be extracted from native ores; and powder mills [2] were erected at many points. Rhode Island [3] regularly inspected the powder made and encouraged by bounty within her borders; she forbade the exportation by land or water.

General Howe thought "Linnen and Woolen Goods much wanted by the Rebels" [4] when he was preparing to evacuate Boston, and he ordered them carried away. But he knew as little of the industrial resources as his superiors knew of the political strength of the country. In the chapter describing the agitation caused by the Stamp Act, I noted in much detail the movements for producing textile fabrics for ordinary clothing. These impressed the popular mind exceedingly, and turned the skill and industry of the women of all classes to the production of cloth as a domestic business. This social movement was so effective that it ceased to be a matter of particular record.[5] The people were now clothed in their own garments as naturally as they were fed by their own Indian corn. We see that here and there the stimulus was occasionally applied to extraordinary production, either in quality or quantity. About 1776, Miss Holt, in Andover,[6] Mass., was paid 18*s.* for spinning 72 skeins, and 7*s.* 11*d.* for weaving 19 yards of cloth. At East Greenwich,[7] R. I., in 1777, Miss Eleanor Fry spun 7 skeins 1 knot of linen yarn in one day, a large product,

[1] *Mass. Arch.*, ccviii. 179.

[2] *Hist. New Haven*, p. 88; *N. Hamp. S. Papers*, viii. 98.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 19, 428.

[4] Howe's Proclamation, *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, iii. 97.

[5] See *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, iii. 150, where the social condition of Boston is described. Worcester had an association for spinning and weaving cotton in 1789. A jenny was bought by subscription and corduroy was woven.

[6] Bailey, p. 578.

[7] Greene, pp. 47, 55.

as the usual quantity was two skeins; it would weave one piece of 12 lawn handkerchiefs of as good quality as those imported from England. The council of East Greenwich fixed the prices to be allowed in the departments of manufacture at this time, and the details are very interesting from various points in the economic perspective. Spinning linen or worsted, "5 or 6 skeins per pound," should not exceed "6*d.* per skein of 15 knots," with finer work in proportion. Carded woollen yarn should be 6*d.* per skein of 15 knots. Weaving "plain flannel or tow or linen should be five pence per yard; common worsted and all linen, one penny per yard; all other linen, like proportion." The difference in prices seems incomprehensible.

Textiles in detail.

The changed value of cotton since the Whitney gin was introduced is a marvel in the history of manufactures. The prices fixed by law in 1779 in the Anti-monopoly Acts, though unstable as against inflated currency, show the relations of values to one another. Cotton was 3*s.* per lb. by the bag, or 3*s.* 8*d.* per single pound. Plain dinners were 1*s.* 6*d.*, supper or breakfast 1*s.*, lodging 4*d.*, shaving 3*d.* One pound cotton would buy two dinners, one lodging, "once shaving," and leave a penny over.[1] The New Hampshire settlement with her troops in 1782[2] shows the kinds of cloth, etc., made for the use of the army. "White woolen cloth well mill and sheared once $\frac{3}{4}$ wide 7*s.* per yd., 8-quarter blankets for soldiers 21*s.* per yd. Cotton or cotton and linen cloth $\frac{7}{8}$ wide 25*s.* per yd. Tow and linen cloth one yard wide 1*s.* 6*d.* per yd. Linen cloth $\frac{7}{8}$ wide for shirting for officers 5*s.* per yd. Good felt hats 5*s.*" These prices were at or near specie values, as beef ranged in the same list at $2\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to $3\frac{1}{2}$*d.* per pound, according to the season. Governor Greene, in a letter to the Rhode Island delegates in Congress December 22, 1781, enumer-

[1] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 256. [2] *N. H. State P.*, viii. 927.

ates the domestic manufactures. "Coarse woolens, blankets, stockings, shoes and linen are manufactured here."[1] Probably this indicates the condition of manufactures for any district in New England.

Contingent to clothing was the manufacture of wool-cards,[2] their use being almost the mainspring of home-spun industry. Bishop[3] says the making of them by hand began in Boston before the Revolution. Wool-cards. Connecticut loaned £300 to Nathaniel Niles, of Norwich, for four years, and he began the making of wire for card-teeth, continuing it through the Revolution. It was the importance of these articles to the domestic industries which prompted the Connecticut Assembly to this action. Jeremiah Wilkinson manufactured them at Cumberland, Rhode Island. And R. Mathewson employed horse power in the manufacture at East Greenwich[4] during the Revolution. Massachusetts granted in 1777, £100 bounty for the first 1,000 lbs. "good merchantable card-wire" made before January 1, 1779, by a water-mill within her own territory, out of iron made in any "of the United American States."[5] The grant was made to any one who has erected or shall erect "such a mill." Rowley[6] had a mill for drawing wire run by the Spoffords "at the commencement of the Revolutionary war."

Massachusetts fixed the price of bloomery iron at 30*s.* per hundred weight in 1777, on the petition of "Middleton" manufacturers, claiming that they had made iron since 1728 equal to "Philadelphia refined iron."[7] Iron. They brought evidence to prove this. The price was deemed so exorbitant that dealers petitioned for its

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 503.
[2] See bounties given, *New Hampshire S. P.*, viii. 777.
[3] *Hist. Manufactures*, i. 497.
[4] Greene, p. 57.
[5] *Mass. Arch.*, clxxxii. 77.
[6] *History*, p. 413.
[7] *Mass. Arch.*, clxxxii. 147; ccxiii. 100.

reduction. Rhode Island[1] in the same year fixed "refined iron" at 50*s.* per hundred, "bog or brittle" iron at 39*s.* She gave £60 bounty per gross ton for "good German Steel" made within the state. Some attempts at mining and refining lead — a metal so necessary and timely — were made in Connecticut. At Stafford, in Connecticut,[2] a new furnace for casting hollow ware, etc., was started by John Phelps in 1779.[3] It produced 80 to 120 tons per year, of excellent quality, by the end of the century. Away onward to Maine the impulse to make iron — the circulating blood of industrial life — extended itself. The legislature granted in 1778 £450 to Rev. Daniel Little, to aid in erecting at Wells a building 35 × 25 feet to be used in manufacturing steel. There was a furnace and a forge also. The attempt failed, but the town made iron in 1781, as they could not get it from abroad.[4]

Manufacture of arms.

Gun factories sprang up. One at Sutton, Mass., was converted, after the peace, to the manufacture of scythes, axes, etc. Such was the general course of the shops for making arms after civil war. Leicester had a "famous gunsmith, Thomas Earle," claimed to be the equal of any in the country. Springfield, long kept in fear of Indian raids, had now become a safe inland post, convenient of access for New England and the Middle States. It was well adapted for an arsenal and place for manufacturing arms. Artisans began this work in private shops, until in 1778 or 1779 the Congress established works on their present site. Cannon were cast and forging was done there. Small arms were not made until after the peace. The present national armory was established there in 1794, and has affected

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 133, 240.

[2] It was said (Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 516) that tinware was made at Berlin in 1770.

[3] Trumbull, *Ct.*, ii. 87.

[4] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 544, 717.

favorably the industries and prosperity of the region around.

Waterbury, Ct., — since become an important metal-working place, — took its start in the manufacture of small arms. Lieutenant Welton made them by hand during the Revolution, and furnished some to the national government. Connecticut had offered in 1775 a bounty of 5*s.* for each complete stand of home-made arms to the number of 3,000, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for each gunlock.

In Rhode Island Stephen Jenks, of North Providence, made arms for the local companies as early as 1775. Several other persons engaged in the same business, and a considerable number of muskets were made in the colony. The same persons engaged in making arms or munitions of war often turned their ingenuity to new devices and products needed by themselves or their neighbors in that dire time. The Wilkinsons, a most capable family of mechanics, who afterward did much in developing Slater's cotton machinery, were especially stimulated to these efforts. It was claimed [1] that the first cold-cut nail in the world was made in 1777 by Jeremiah Wilkinson, of Cumberland, R. I. He made tacks, cutting the forms with shears from an old chest lock; he then headed them in a vise. Sheet-iron and Spanish hoops were then taken into the shears, and the process was extended to small nails. Pins and needles he made from his own wire at the same time. Forging wrought nails was a common process among blacksmiths and farmers. Thomas Hazard, in his minute diary, frequently notes his nail-making. He forged the tools and then made the nails. He mentions especially "nail tools and hammer," also "shingle-nail tools" and "planking-nail tools." [2]

As the seaports suffered in foreign commerce, so the inland towns [3] increased by these rough-and-ready industries,

[1] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 69.

[2] *Narragansett H. Reg.*, i. 92.

[3] See decline of New London and rise of Norwich. Caulkins, *N. L.*, p. 536.

instituted by the changes and necessities of war, and often stimulated by bounties. Among the enforced expedients, the scarcity of sugar compelled the manufacture of molasses from cornstalks in 1776 and 1777. Apparently, after the privateers cut into the West India commerce with a frequency next to regularity, this poor substitute for sweets of the cane was abandoned. But it was tried in all parts of the country.[1] Colonel Samuel Pierce notes his experience. They ground the stalks, then boiled the juice to a thick molasses. It was also distilled into rum. The best report was "tartish," and "better for puddings than for any other culinary use," a moderate comparative negative. The maple-tree was a better competitor with the sub-tropical cane. A man and boy could collect sap for 500 lbs., a man with two boys 700 lbs. of sugar in a season, and the boiling was done by women.[2] This has been a permanent article for consumption and commerce.

Cornstalk molasses.

Rhode Island fixed the prices[3] of sugar in 1777 at 1*s.* 6*d.* per hundred for refined loaf, and 1*s.* 8*d.* by the single loaf. Colonel Pierce quotes the price 7*s.* per pound in 1778. Other prices cited by the garrulous colonel are interesting.[4] He sold hay at $6 a hundred, — "intolerable;" in February, 177$\frac{8}{9}$, at $9; again, in November, at $20. The upward flight of the currency had now exhausted his adjectives. In 1780 he sold English hay at £33 per hundred, and bought a new clock for £21 "hard money." In 1778 lime was $30 a hogshead; in 1776 the Rhode Island kilns sent it by the cargo from Providence to Boston.[5]

We note a paper-mill in New Hampshire, a snuff-mill

[1] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 368; *Hist. New Haven*, p. 94; Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 100.

[2] Belknap, *N. H.*, iii. 113–116.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 133.

[4] *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 369.

[5] *Mass. Arch.*, ccv. 135.

in Rowley, Mass., and a chocolate-mill in Dorchester;[1] and salt bounties in Massachusetts for home production.

The business of our citizens, after supplying immediate necessities from their home products, drifted almost insensibly into efforts for supplying our troops directly or indirectly. Patriotic adventurers and merchants brought in gunpowder early, before the colonial assemblies were ready to act on any general plan of resistance. Mr. Shaw, of New London, in December, 1774, offered a fast-sailing vessel of his own to the legislature for this purpose. With the legislative order he obtained 600 half-barrels of powder from the French West Indies.[2] John Brown, of Providence, the hero of the Gaspee affair, sent out his own vessel to the West Indies and brought in powder. Some of this importation, it was said, reached our army during or directly after the action at Bunker Hill.

Supplying the troops.

On the other hand, the king's friends plotted as well as fought. Governor Tryon, of New York, paid three English gunsmiths thirty guineas for their passage to England, twenty guineas additional, and promised them employment in the king's armory. He persuaded them against "the execution of purposes contrary to the feelings of their natures, as Englishmen, in the present unnatural rebellion."[3] The governor was told that there was only one more workman in America capable of "gun-welting," but he was misinformed probably.

The towns turned everything available into army supplies. Lead weights in the meeting-house windows[4] were taken from the tabernacle and run into bullets to be fired against the king's mercenaries. Stockings,[5] so much

[1] *Prov. Pap. New Hamp.*, viii. 721; *Hist. Rowley*, p. 413; *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 623; *Mass. Arch.*, ccxiv. 387.

[2] Caulkins, *New London*, p. 508.

[3] *Doc. New York*, viii. 647.

[4] Butler, *Groton*, p. 259.

[5] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 332.

needed by poorly supplied troops, would be apportioned to towns on requisition. Collectors bought or impressed them as opportunity offered. "Good yard-wide, whitened tow cloth" was obtained in the same way.

A specimen order given a vessel from Boston to St. Eustatia in 1777[2] calls for 500 firearms with bayonets, 500 soldiers' blankets, 50 barrels gunpowder, 200 pieces raven duck or tent cloth, 300 pounds twine, 60 casks nails. If these articles were not to be had, then Russia duck or cordage would do; this would fit a privateer, and she would bring in everything desirable.

Army business.

Large ventures in commerce and manufacture were undertaken, based on the constant needs of the government and its armies. Barnabas Deane & Co.[3] was a typical firm. The principal partner was a brother of Silas Deane, while General Nathanael Greene and Colonel Wadsworth, commissary general of the United States Army, were silent partners. There is no evidence that official position was used in any illegitimate way. Greene and Wadsworth furnished most of the capital employed, and the firm operated largely in Philadelphia, as well as other places. They were general operators, though dealing chiefly in staples and manufactures needed for the army, or which could be exchanged for provisions and forage. They bought or bartered wool, grain, homespun fabrics, etc. They had distilleries for domestic rum and "Geneva;" failed in running saltworks, and succeeded with gristmills. They imported salt from the Bermudas, and were interested in one or more privateers.

The business of the struggling states would have been difficult enough if they had known how to convert their actual resources, and to apply them in consolidated ef-

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 534.

[2] *Mass. Arch.*, ccv. 179.

[3] J. H. Trumbull's account in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, July, 1884, pp. 17–28.

fort by definite fiscal methods to the work in hand. But financial science was not matured then, while such methods as were known found little favor in the sparsely settled districts of the United States. The work of the Revolution was immensely aggravated by the wretched administration of the currency, — the enforced travel on the quaking bogs of paper money. The doings of the individual states in paper were bad, those of the United States were worse.

Bad fiscal methods.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the New England governments had issued paper money, as we have seen, for immediate use. Massachusetts proposed a convention in 1776, and, at the call of Rhode Island for a "council of war," committees from all the New England States met at Providence [1] on Christmas Day to consider the currency.[2] This convention undertook to regulate prices, to encourage taxation and loans, and strongly recommended that the states issue no more paper "unless upon a critical contingency." These resolves had little practical effect, and another convention, with New York in coöperation, met at Springfield in the following year. It proposed to sink all paper money, and to provide for both local and war expenditures by quarterly taxes. This action did not bring the required money into the public treasuries.

The pressure of public sentiment was brought to bear for enforcing the circulation of paper. A countryman was beaten in the streets of Salem [3] for refusing paper in exchange for his hard-earned meat. Neither individual nor social despotism can control the pocket. By 1778 the whole system of currency had broken down hopelessly. People looked to Europe and foreign alliances for loans which would bring in currency,

Forced circulation.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 97.

[2] The exchange on London, October 9, 1775, was at 15 per cent. *Amory Letters in MS.*

[3] Felt, ii. 193.

and enable them to do business through the new supplies of expected money.

But the foreign money did not come soon enough, nor freely enough, for the economic wants the void in the public credit had created. Continental as well as state paper flooded the land, debtors paying their obligations in bills worth hardly five per cent. of their face value. Trade, when not in the form of barter, became mere chance. Shrewd creditors waited long for their debts until the continental bills should lose their quality of legal tender.

By 1780 [1] the towns were voting "hard money" to the soldiers, and in some instances taxes were collected in beef or silver money, at the option of the payer. Continental money was now forty to one, as shown in the rent of the Vassall house,[2] at £2,600 in that paper, equal to £65 specie. But Haverhill [3] did not stop receiving paper for taxes until 1781. It then had over ten thousand pounds in the treasury, valued at seventy-five for one. Mr. Jonathan Amory [4] says, December 16, 1780: "Every body asks silver or Gold or paper, as they please, paper having been for a considerable time at 75 pr ct; goods bring three for one." Bancroft [5] gives the value of the dollar, "buoyed up by the French alliance," in 1778 at 20c. It fell to 12½c. in January, 1779; to 5c. in April; to 2½c. in December.

The United States opened loan offices in the four New England States which received continental bills at par, and issued debt certificates bearing six per cent. interest.[6] But the interest was not paid. At first they circulated at par.[7]

[1] Barry, *Hanover*, p. 127; *N. H. S. P.*, viii. 128.
[2] *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1884, p. 324.
[3] Chase, p. 434.
[4] *MS. Letters.*
[5] *Hist. U. S.*, ed. 1885, v. 440.
[6] *Ibid.*, v. 290; *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 318, 479.
[7] *Bos. Eve. Post*, Oct. 23, 1779.

While the French army and navy were disbursing funds, some exchange was afforded for liquidating indebtedness in Europe. We see the friendly livres shining through the correspondence of merchants, as they are sent over to offset the unfriendly pounds, shillings, and pence.

The currency, as a medium of value at home and for exchange abroad, was a continual and varying perplexity to merchants. Bills of exchange as then prevalent were not positive values abroad, for they might be and often were protested; then they came home, to be accounted for in paper much poorer than was paid for them originally. Paper was a legal tender; but goods were perishable, subject to the risks of a fluctuating war. When Massachusetts passed her "Depreciation Act," it gave confidence for the time, and merchants moved more freely. Yet they did not realise their expectations, since they sold their good merchandise and their collections were poor as before. When paper money broke down altogether, another impulse was given to trade, but the contracts thus initiated were but seldom made good.

Disordered exchanges.

Finally the General Court of Massachusetts[1] passed a "Tender Act," enabling debtors to turn over in their own county — be it in Kennebec or Berkshire — to the sheriff, at appraisal, any cattle, grain, deal boards, or other produce, in payment of debts. This completed the vicious circle of transmutation from currency into no currency.

"Tender Act."

It is pathetic to read the doubts and struggles of men as they were sorely tried in the unwholesome economic measures of these times, "so many regulating Bills & Acts forcing us to sell for this wicked paper." Good patriotism and bad economics were mixed inextricably. Mr. Jonathan Amory[2] said, "A good proportion of the money I took for debts was not worth one third, and before I had a chance to lay it out, perhaps not one sixth of what I had taken it for."

[1] Barry, *Mass.*, iii. 222.

[2] *MS. Letters.*

If such were the difficulties and anxieties of the citizens and constituent members of the new state, we may imagine the greater trials of those children of the old — yet dwelling in the new — England who were oppressed by the grinding force of the Revolution, and finally driven into exile. The unhappy Loyalists sinned, but from the nature of the case they were sinned against. That chief virtue, the foundation and stay of states, — love of country, — was turned against itself in these unhappy persons. This was in the beginning. As the action developed, everything severe in government, everything base in humanity, contributed to harass and oppress them. Sincere they must have been, or they would not have sacrificed their property on the frightful altars of confiscation. While we must sympathise with the struggling patriots and approve their general course in holding the Tories sternly to account during the contest, history must note their unfortunate error when the war closed. The banishment of some thousands of former Loyalists to Nova Scotia strengthened the old country at the expense of the new. No compensating advantage could atone for this wholesale expulsion and deportation of superior persons and families. The British Parliament gave them nearly fifteen and one half millions of dollars[1] with which to start life again.

The Loyalists.

We are mainly interested in the social and economic effect of this partition of the tissues of the body politic. Like the immensely greater movement of the Huguenots out of France, it was an incident of the highest social importance, and its consequences were fated and fatal. The districts losing most of this emigration suffered most in the end. The states confiscated the estates of these malignants, who fled during the war. Rhode Island passed an act in 1779, and further cut off the dower of the widows of absentees in 1780.[2] Some

Effects of banishment.

[1] Sabine, *Am. Loyalists*, p. 111. [2] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 139, 252.

thirty-five men are named in this act, and classified according to their vocations. Probably the list is somewhat typical, and indicates the drift of this movement. There are classified and denominated 17 merchants, 7 gentlemen or esquires, 4 mariners, 3 yeomen, 2 traders, 1 clerk, 1 cordwainer.

The proportions are significant. When we consider what society pays in getting out a merchant or a gentleman, any wholesale excision or slaughter of these social integers is expensive. How much of life a mariner holding property on shore, and sufficient in himself to attract legislative notice, must have lived and undergone in working out his career! Quick intelligence, education, and culture are the rewards of organised societies. The then merchant, or the corresponding economic exponent in any time, — the exploiter of economic life, its capitaliser, — is in himself a "clearing-house" of culture. Just as coin and currency need a fiscal centre for exchange, an economic ganglion where vital forces concentrate and strike out anew in their round of creative power, so society has to condense its vibrating tissues into individual men and women, to be put forth in new social issues. The merchant in his strength may lack grace, but he is none the less the opportunity of grace in others. He upholds the social framework by sturdy work in business, in order that others may play in the graces and elegances of life.

Social waste.

The banished Americans in England suffered the distractions which the loss of one home and ill-fitting nature of another occasioned to them. They were "sick at heart and tired of a sojourn among a people who after all are but foreigners." Poor Curwin, after some two years' compulsory residence in England, said, "Nothing but the hopes of once more revisiting my native soil has hitherto supported my drooping courage."[1]

Weary banishment.

[1] Curwin's *Journal*, p. 161.

On the other hand, some changes produced by confiscation brought out the ironies of liberty and bondage. This story of the Vassall slave excited the humor of the great jurist Shaw, who related the tradition.[1] The large Vassall estate was confiscated, and when the commissioners were offering the homestead at public sale, an old black servant, "Tony," stepped forward, saying he was no "Tory, but a *friend of Liberty*; having lived on this estate all my life, do not see why I should be deprived of my dwelling."

Confiscation.

In Rhode Island, the confiscated estates of the Tory absentees were assigned to the officers and soldiers of the state contingent in the continental army. In 1780, when the general breakdown in the currency occurred, the Assembly agreed[2] to pay the soldiers one quarter of their "wages" in specie, three quarters in lands of the Royalists at appraised values. The accounts were known as "depreciation accounts," and were settled by committees of the General Assembly in 1781 and 1782. Greene's, Sherburne's, and Angell's regiments especially received large quotas of land. Among the forfeited estates,[3] one belonging to Governor Thomas Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, containing 640 acres, was valued at £7,306.19 in silver; Isaac Royal's Mount Hope Farm at Bristol, 385 acres, stood at £4,512, silver; Charles Ward Apthorp's farm in Jamestown, 384 acres, at £5,196, silver; Isaac Lawton's house at Newport, on a lot 59×45 feet, near the State House, at £396.14.6, silver.

Depreciation of currency.

Prices of commodities during this witches' dance of the paper currency went beyond all ratios of reason and into the uncertain regions of chance. The so-called acts "against monopoly and extortion,"[4] made in the beginning to give artificial circulation to the paper, failed utterly in their effects. This fail-

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.*, 1858, p. 66.

[2] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 270.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 324, 391–392, 618.

[4] See Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 170.

ure was due solely to inherent economic causes. There was no lack of political or social support for the laws. Some towns met and passed unanimous resolutions accepting them, and promising observance.[1] All who lived on salaries or settled incomes suffered especially by depreciation. Dr. Ezra Ripley, settled at Concord in 1778, in his "Half Century Discourse" gives a graphic account of his trials: "With all his exertions in various ways, as teaching scholars, manual labor, &c., your pastor could not have waded through, had it not been for a particular event in Providence, and the long credit given him by one benevolent trader (Deacon John White) in town."[2] When Massachusetts fixed her scale of depreciation, his parishioners made up, as far as they could, the losses suffered by their pastor. In 1778 Machias[3] engaged to pay Rev. Mr. Lyon "either in cash or other specie, as we shall subscribe." These were the sums agreed in pounds, shillings, and pence. Others were payable in boards and shingles, while Mr. Samuel Rich made a standard for himself, exceeding in psychologic possibilities all the efforts of the modern "fiat-money" advocates. He "will give as much as he finds himself willing." Thus the methods of adjusting contracts varied in different districts.

It is impossible to follow, within these limits, the course of prices,[4] as they changed with the varying standards of these years,[5] initiated as they were by necessary custom

[1] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 256. [2] Dr. Ripley, *Half Century Discourse.*

[3] Smith, *Hist. Sketch*, p. 143.

[4] See, for prices, *History Rowley*, p. 267; and *N. H. S. P.*, viii. pp. 128, 927; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 434.

[5] See Bancroft, ed. 1885, v. 290, vi. 70, 168; Felt, *Mass. Currency*, Tables of Depreciation, pp. 186, 196; Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 226, 426; *R. I. C. R.*, ix. 254, 281; *N. H. State P.*, viii. 858; Bronson, *Hist. Currency in Conn. Mass. Arch.*, cxlii. 104, quotes for 1777: Tobacco, £80 to £90 per cwt.; indigo, £3 to £6. (*sic*); rice, £28 to £30 per cwt.; pot ashes, £22 to £25 per cwt.; pearl, £50 to £55 per cwt.; flaxseed, 40*s.* to 50*s.* per bu.

and enforced by halting legislation. When the paper was passing, as in 1779, articles of food and European goods or luxuries were highest in price, while labor, and articles readily produced by domestic labor, were moderate in their ratio. For example, according to standards of 1776 and 1779, corn, rye, and beef, sold at 1 in the first period, brought 22 to 24 in the second; labor was 1 and 18; hay 1 and 10; men's shoes 1 and 16. In 1781, as the currency was passing out and the standard was 1 to 75, commodities brought enormous prices: shoes £20 per pair, milk 15*s.* per quart, potatoes 96*s.* per bu., pork 60*s.* per lb., rum 45*s.* per pint, corn $40. per bu., a cow $1,200, etc.

Houses and habits.

At the Revolution, the habits and domestic economy of the people were as they had been gradually developed during a half century of prosperous living. The frame houses, their upright walls covered with clapboards, the roofs shingled, — all handsome, safe, and comfortable, readily and cheaply built, — attracted the favorable notice of European observers. The Abbé Robin[1] thought them much superior to those of the Old World "in neatness and salubrity." That a house could be moved bodily from its foundations and transferred to another street or town seemed more wonderful to him than the travelling houses of the nomadic Scythians. Anbury[2] remarked on the great number of houses half finished, one half covering the rough frame merely. A man would build and occupy the first half; then, when his son married, the new couple finished and settled in the second half. The families lived distinct, but protected by one roof.

In the cities the colors used in painting then were white or pale yellow, but in the country the farmhouses were generally painted red, or weather-beaten to the nat-

[1] *New Travels through N. A.* He was a chaplain under Rochambeau in 1781.

[2] *Travels in America*, p. 262.

ural gray. He speaks of the supports as "a wall about a foot high." But in many districts, in the middle of the last century, the houses were not "underpinned" except at the corners, where they rested on stones. The word is a curious double survival from the times when all dwellings rested on a pile of some sort. "Underpinning" meant in New England, not its first and obvious derivation, but it meant the laying of stones for a foundation.

In Boston, though the floors of many houses were carpeted, some were still sprinkled with fine sand. Throughout the land, each home contained within itself "almost all the original and most necessary arts." The adaptability of the New Englander, the ready power of fitting his capacity to the work in hand, much impressed our Abbé. That a farmer could be an artisan in the most essential features, that a housewife or maiden — not roughened by outdoor labor — could be deft in spinning or weaving, filled him with natural wonder. More significant still was the conception formed by the Frenchman of this democratic lord of the soil, in comparison with the dependent peasants of Europe. The rural American, with slight opportunities for education, formed himself in the mould of a larger manhood. With less manners than the serving member of a feudal community, he had greater moral force and sounder moral integrity.

Character of people.

Anbury, a British officer, studying the people about the same time, did not comprehend the inherent powers of this freeman, whose appearance — often eccentric — he caricatures. He laughs at the wayfarer mounted on a slender, meagre horse, bestrode by long legs hardly reaching the longer stirrups. Above was "his long, lank visage,"[1] behind were the saddle-bags, in front were provision bags, and on the shoulder of this restless pioneer was a blazing iron to mark his way through the untracked forests.

The painful bridle-path of these constant travellers,

[1] Anbury, *Travels in America*, p. 219.

was pushed through to the Pacific coast in the lifetime of that lank pioneer's child. Iron rails followed, and ere a century lapsed the greatest network of railway and water communication the world knew, was stretched over the fair land. The lank visage looked out from a brain that was not weak and attenuated, however defective it might be. That brain has forged out an empire, and solved problems of government nowhere else matured and worked out in the history of the world.

The foreign officers could not abide the puritanical observance of the Sabbath[1] still enjoined by these earnest workers. Committee-men stopped their travelling, and finally they compromised by attending religious services at their own barracks.

Quick ingenuity.

Yet the positive and negative testimony of the French and the English observer all looks toward the same end, all reveals the quick capacity of the people. The marvellous ingenuity of Joel Hawey's mill at Sharon, Ct.,[2] where by water-power wheat was threshed and winnowed in one set of rooms, ground and bolted in another, where hemp and flax could be broken and dressed, impressed the English critic, just as the excellence in shipbuilding was everywhere apparent.

The inventive mind, the skill and mechanical dexterity manifested, in applying the mind to common business, as appeared in the eighteenth century, has been recorded in many resulting inventions, of which we see an instance in Hawey. There were other men, hovering between the practices of agriculture and of mechanical industries, who never achieved the fame of inventors. They were social links between the true artisan of mediæval life and the modern mechanic, the follower of a machine. Every hamlet had a blacksmith of this type, and many districts nurtured men of superior powers — Tubal Cains of Saxon stock — who mastered the industrial problems of

[1] Anbury, *Travels in America*, p. 63. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

their neighborhoods with ready brains and skilful hands. A fragmentary diary of one of these modest workers in the great drama of American civilisation has been preserved. Thomas B. Hazard lived at the hamlet now Peace Dale, R. I., in old Narragansett, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Thirty-two of his lineage shared this name Thomas, and he was distinguished therefrom as "Nailer Tom." "College," "Barley," "Fiddle Head," "Pistol," "Tailor," "Long (as well as Short) Stephen's," were some of the fanciful epithets marking these Tom Hazards in the Narragansett of this period.[1]

"Nailer Tom Hazard."

A Quaker, restless and roving about the neighboring districts in his youth, he sharpened his notable faculties for observation, and accumulated the knowledge of men which shaped his political management in his mature years. He did not seek or hold office, but was a most influential politician — a local Warwick — who rode his own little state, after she entered in the Union, in the interest of the Anti-Federal party. A delightful talker, with the true genius of conversation, he interested alike young or old, cultivated or simple, as they listened late at night to his narrative or argument, his stores of fact lighted up by a fanciful imagination. One who knew his traditional repute wonders at the dry and meagre details, such a man set down in his diary.[2] But that is significant of the man and his time. Then words were for the moment, work was for all time. A diligent reader, who must have reflected much at his daily tasks when he recorded himself, he set down his deeds, rather than the words of himself, or thoughts shared with other men.

Work, not words.

The diary dates from June 21, 1778, to August 18, 1781.[3] In the first year he labored four weeks at Oziel

[1] Updike's *Narragansett Church*, p. 247.
[2] *Narragansett Hist. Reg.*, i. 291.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. pp. 28–41, 167–179, 277–285.

Wilkinson's, at Smithfield, R. I., receiving three oxen for his pains. This was a central school for tool-using; there were no better adepts or teachers than the Wilkinsons. Shortly after, in January 1779, he worked about ten days at "Congdon's shop," in Newport, in making bridle-bits. This was a special industry, much needed among the horsemen and horsewomen of his native district. Evidently the Newport artisans would give the most elegant turn to this article, so necessary in a farmer's or gentleman's outfit. These districts had numerous residents of both kinds.

Jemima Wilkinson, the prophetess.

The Wilkinsons, descended from a Cromwellian soldier, extended their inventive genius, in the person of a female descendant, into the mysteries of the spiritual world. Jemima, "the Universal Friend, a new name which the mouth of the Lord hath named," was pursuing her mission of prophetess and miracle-worker at Judge William Potter's in the northerly part of South Kingstown. She evinced a powerful personality, and showed many characteristics of a natural leader of people. It is pretty well agreed that Jemima, like other modern enthusiasts, *thought* that she could work miracles. The consequences of this thought were, that many families were broken up, many estates were sacrificed, and many disciples finally emigrated to Yates County in New York.[1] There a community was founded, and the thaumaturgist lived in peace and plenty until she died conveying her property to individuals for the use of the "Society of Universal Friends," by a testament signed with a mark. Potter, the chief justice of common pleas in Washington County, R. I., built an addition of fourteen rooms to his large house near Kingston for the accommodation of Jemima and her followers. He was a magnate intelligent and cultured. He went to New York State with the other deluded disciples, but returned to an

[1] Updike, *N. Church*, pp. 231–238.

estate embarrassed by his expenditures. He finally sold out, and emigrated again to the Genesee country.

Hazard, a follower of the true inward light, was inquisitive enough to seek out this strange offshoot from George Fox's tree, that came so near his daily life. Accordingly he "went to hear Jemima at Champlain's and dined at William Potter's thence to Champlain's." The canny Quaker gives no sign of his own impressions, excepting the negative one that he did not follow her. William Potter, his host, was the judge, and a chief apostle of the mystic woman. It is likely that the host and credulous lawyer argued the mysteries with the shrewd and wiser blacksmith in vain.

Two months after working on the bridle-bits at Newport, he began "keeping house with George," his brother, and to work in George's shop. He worked there for his own account, though sometimes he worked "for George" or for other persons. Like all the blacksmiths, he "split" or "drawed" rods and made nails, as his nickname indicates. But this common work filled the time when he had not in hand locks or keys, latches or hinges, skates, shovels, or any of the varied household utensils of iron. While at his brother's he records the changing of the ear-mark of Thomas Hazard's sheep. This ear-mark was an important link in social organisation. In later days, a shifty sheepowner adopted a lopped ear as his private mark. It was surmised that ears bearing his neighbors' marks sometimes fell under his enterprising knife. In any event, in disputed cases, he had the convenience and the inconvenience of "no documentary evidence." Daily habits.

Toward the end of June, 1779, Hazard closed accounts with George, and set up his own shop on a larger scale. Books are mentioned occasionally. Evidently he did not record all he read, for he was quick in turning the pages. He finished the first volume of the Hazard's reading.

"History and Adventures of Joseph Andrews," and began the second during the same day. "Agricola" probably took more time.

In the autumn of 1780 he was very ill; after this he enlarged his means for working in his shop. He spent several days in making tools, and afterwards made an "upright drill stock" and a bellows. He had made a variety of tools previously for nail-making, — "shingle" and "planking" nails, etc. While George and Stephen, his brothers, were at work for him making deck nails, he put iron on the toes of his own shoes. "Chappell came here to work," either as a journeyman blacksmith or to produce in some other department of labor. He settles his own board "with Hannah and Pereginel Paine's," as if Paine were a workman of his also.

There is always patient and reflective industry. Sometimes he made nails in the night. As soon as convalescent after his illness, he began to "read out the history of Joseph and his brethren," and after his recovery the notices of books are more frequent. Among them are "Prose and Verse for the use of Schools," "Memorial of America," "History of Colonel Church," "Robert Barclay's Apology," "Bale's Dictionary," "John Churchman's Journal," "No Cross no Crown," "W. Penn's Morals," "Anson's Voyage." "Reflections on Courtship and Marriage" only confirmed him in his single and often singular state of life. He read the "Theory of the Earth concerning the Conflagration." The list indicates the general reading of the day, with a slant toward the especial literature of the "Friends." Our blacksmith had the best opportunities for self-education. He lived for a time at his uncle Redwood's in Mendon, Mass., and afterwards visited Dr. Willard in Uxbridge, who was one of the most accomplished men of his district. Hazard went in 1781 to the "General Meeting" in Pennsylvania.

There is little evidence of positive and immediate effect

from the great Revolutionary struggle, which was wasting some districts, and which held poor Newport in cruel bonds. Of course they felt the confusion of prices, and the pressure which forced their savings into "Loan office certificates." But the working out of the momentous Revolution does not appear in these lines. He notes the movements of privateers, and an entry of forty-six sail into Newport is a local event which gets a record. So does the death of De Tierney and the entry of Washington into Newport, with the illumination of the town. While Washington toiled with his mighty patience, and the marplots of an inefficient Congress deranged his work, throughout the land the farmers and blacksmiths ploughed and hammered, the women plied spindle and distaff, and nurtured their families in the daily round of plain home living.

Did not feel the Revolution.

The consistent Quaker's inconsistent non-resistance gave him little opportunity of playing the larger part of a whole citizen in the great drama that was developing an empire. Like Nathanael Greene, he must doff the straight collar and uniform himself with patriots and heroes if he would sink the Quaker in the man. But we admire the writer of this plain diary. In these days of voluminous writing and printing, men spin out every emotion of their puny hearts into gossamer threads stretching far beyond the crack o' doom; they magnify every deed of their own into a Himalayan mount of egotism. It is wholesome to consider that men just as intelligent as we are, doing their plain duty, forged a shingle-nail with the same skill which yields a Nasmith trip-hammer, and with the invincible, immortal integrity that balances one world with another, and that rolls the universe straight forward in its grooves.

Block Island, located as it was, became debatable ground between Great Britain and America, while the royal fleets controlled our coasts. While "Nailer Tom"

was hammering iron into tools and utensils on the shore, skipper John Rose was running The Dolphin from the island to Newport to carry small supplies of produce, and bring back such necessary articles as the inhabitants must have.

Block Island experience.

These two-masted, "double-ender" boats peculiar to Block Island deserve a word of notice for themselves. No vessel ever triumphed more completely over the seas than this craft driven by her hereditary navigators. She was developed from the ancient pinnace, but was made simpler and much more effective. The keel, bearing one to four tons burden, was laid deep in the water, the bow and stern rising high on stem and sternpost set at an angle of 45°. Bow and stern nearly alike, — without a deck, — she ploughed deep in the trough and mounted high over the crests of the seas. Her sides were "lapstreaked" with cedar. Her masts, mere poles without stay or shroud, swayed with the fiercest winds, and seemed by their elasticity to help in the lift over the plunging waves. Her crew were equal to their rare craft. Venturing into almost any weather, shifting their pebble ballast deftly as the fickle winds veered their course, they breasted the foaming waters in company with the gull or petrel. Tradition claims that no one of these boats was ever swamped in the open seas.

Sir Peter Parker had given a permit to The Dolphin, which she availed of, until stopped by our armed boats about one mile from Newport, September 9, 1779. Her documents [1] are an interesting revelation of the life of the island families as they quietly drank their tea, while the maidens made their furbelows in spite of King George or General Washington.

Thomas Dickens sends 3 bush. "potaters;" he wants one pound "tee," 2 oz. indigo, "and the Rest Shuger;" the postscript calls for "a good pair of Sleaf Buttons for

[1] *R. I. Arch.* at Providence.

myself, Brass." A little money was often sent with the produce, and the remittances did not always balance. Captain Rose must have had rather complicated accounts. Edmund Dodge, in return for his potatoes, wants "2 gallons of melasses one puter bason that olds 2 quarts and the Rest in rum." Daniel Mott, in two transactions, sends sheep, cheeses, potatoes, eggs; and calls for a rennet skin, 1 bu. salt, 1 lb. tea, molasses, one ½ pint glass, "Calico for one Collor and one hate for Edward felt with botens," "nif [always written for 'and if'] any thing more Lay it out in Rise." Samuel Dickens, after the usual groceries, asks for "6 Shets of paper and three pipes, and I have sent half a genne." Again he sends "9 Dollors" for tea and sugar. The farmers order also lath, shingle, and "clabbord" nails. The above articles, with a little redwood and cotton, comprise the list of masculine wants.

The spelling on Manisses matched that upon the main and throughout New England; it was no better, no worse.

Hard blockade for women.

When we scan the feminine orders, the effect of the long blockade on the nerves of the fair is more apparent than it is in the dry and curt demands of their husbands and brothers: —

"Sir please to get me Six yards of Calligo such as you can get for a half Dollar a yard or if it is a little more I dont care do pray get it and dont fail get that is Dark that will do for a bed covering and get me one ounce of garlic thred one Chest lock and you will oblige your friend

"Polly Sands

"I have sent the Dollers for the Calligo and if you put a Doller to it it will pay it."

Lydia Rathburn mingles luxuries for ornament with the useful articles she needs. "Sent eighteen shillings and seven pence and desire you would buy me a yard and a quarter of fine holland and one bottle of snuf and one Peace of french Lace and two yards of Corse holland

and two quart basons and out of the eggs buy Checks for an apron and there is twenty shillings you must lay out in holland and Cambrick nedles."

Again, Lydia must have 2 yards narrow white ribbon, 2 yards narrow red, and some "floured or spotted gose [gauze]." Gauze seemed to be an indispensable luxury: Sarah Dickens, with her allspice and tea, wants "gaus and a yard of Ribbin." For 9 chickens one female expects "one quartor of a yard of Sarsnet one nail of K, 2 cans [skeins] of hollon thred one yard and a half of bonnet trimmen half a Corter of Catgot half a Paper of Pins."

Neither the simple manners of this isolated Arcadia nor the enforced abstinence of a blockade kept the buoyant forms of the island maidens under sufficient control.

Feminine stays.

To support themselves in their insulation they must be stayed in the current fashion. So the fair Patience Dodge sends for "three quarters of a yard of Buckrum three quarters of whale Bone a yard and a half of caleminck yallow three Skanes of yallow Silk ten yards of white logrum [lockram]."

There is only one order for "woolen," and that only three quarters of a yard; the islanders clothed themselves in all that was necessary.

This American people, — farmers, sailors, and artisans, spinners, weavers, and housewives, — together with their natural leaders, who made the Revolution and sustained it through arduous campaigns, now found themselves at peace with all the world. The war over, their worst troubles had just begun. The latent force of the American community inhered in the English families and townspeople who first landed on these Western shores. But this force had not been put forth in the larger organs of government, when the spirit of the people arrayed the country in opposition to its head, the crown of England. To form a government, with powers adequate to the administration of an empire,

Task of forming a government.

was a task far beyond the capabilities of the people acting through any political methods then known in either hemisphere. This modulated popular dominion — freely delegated, yet held in control — required representative action in its highest possible expression. Before the people were wise enough to make this effort, before they secreted governmental energy enough to endow a sovereignty greater than the king's, they must pass through the severest ordeal, and be trained in several hard years of discordant confusion little better than anarchy itself.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COMMERCE OF THE CONFEDERATION.

1783–1789.

THE great struggle being ended, the treaty of peace signed at Paris September 3, 1783, consummated the separation of the colonies from their mother state, and the consequent formation of the United States of America. As soon as the war ceased, and the problems occasioned by the new conditions of government pressed upon ministers and Parliament, the same economic stolidity, the same lack of political sagacity, possessed the British statesmen that had alienated the colonies. Though the American descendants of the English race had well mingled the blood of continental Europe in their veins, yet strong links bound them to the mother country. These links were broken because the English political system was not sufficiently developed to bear the strain, and no political leaders appeared comprehending the difficulty, or capable of enlarging the home government to the demands of the occasion.

America and England.

When Parliament attempted to adjust their legislation to the new order of things across the seas, its action was no better. The Navigation Acts and the principle of the Sugar Acts still dominated the imagination of parliamentary rulers. The commercial system of Great Britain was to be ruined, in their view, partly by the competition of the new state, but more by any innovation upon the system itself. Shelburne was the one man perceiving dimly the economic possibility, the future opening to unfettered manufactures and freer

Narrow political science.

trade; and he was hampered by the childlike prejudices of Pitt and Fox. They were giants in the old politics, but children in that larger world of finance and trade which was to control the politics of the next century. The "nation of shopkeepers" had begun, then, the trade their great continental rival feared while he was ridiculing it, yet their political leaders little comprehended the true sources of English power.

Lord Sheffield, their most trusted adviser in commercial affairs, said positively that the principle of the Navigation Acts was as dear as Magna Charta. These were not purely economic heresies, or the mere sulking prejudices of defeated prerogative. They were blundering concepts resulting from misconceived political ideals. Monopoly and restriction filled the economic air, while the world of the intellect was widening daily in the new discoveries from the new light of science. London traders thought Barbary pirates a providential blessing, because they helped to confine trade to the ships of those strong powers that could protect their flag. Small countries were commercial nuisances, in that they competed with British bottoms for the carrying trade. Among other things taught by the young America, early in the following century, to the older powers, was the fact that it paid commercially to clear out Barbary pirates and ocean thieves.

Collateral to this economic ignorance, there was a political mistake which aggravated it and deepened it. The British seemed unable to see the magnificent opportunities of trade opening to them in the rising empire beyond the seas. And why? Many, probably most, British thinkers, fully believed there was never to be a great nation or a greater nationality in America. Said Dean Tucker in 1781, a prophet of insight just sufficient to lead his fellows into folly: "Its being a rising empire, under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is

one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance." The future was concealed from the wise, but it was revealed unto babes.

These mistaken notions, both of polity and of the new industrial life just beginning to agitate the world, all together caused Great Britain to narrow her policy of commercial intercourse with the new state. Parliament left the virtual decision to the ministry of the crown. An Order in Council limited the trade between the United States and the British West Indies to British-built ships owned and navigated by subjects of Great Britain.

These narrowing restrictions limited the commercial intercourse resumed after the war, and which might have been more extended had the conditions been more favorable. Ordinary commerce with the West Indies and with Europe was undertaken as soon as peace was assured. The country was hungry for the European luxuries which had been dear so long and in limited supply. The merchants imported freely, and, as usually occurs when the demand is unnatural, the market was soon overstocked. Sellers were even more imprudent than buyers, and English exporters forced their shipments on "unlimited credit" to America, this credit being a large factor in pressing out the over-supply of goods from England. A "manufacturer" writing in 1785 claimed that Germany, France, and Holland could not give the length of credit needed by America. French cloths and German iron would have been exported there if sufficient credit had been given. Not less than three millions of pounds sterling in manufactured goods had been sent from Great Britain to America since the peace. The average annual export to New England for five years before the war was £409,000. The annual return or import was £384,000.[1]

Effect on commerce.

[1] *Short Address by a Manuf'r on Trade, Great Britain with U. S.*, pp. 8, 15, Carter-Brown Library.

Money was scarce here, and some political difficulties soon aggravated the commercial condition. The states were not agreed in their action. Connecticut laid a tax of 5 per cent. on all goods imported from any other state, — a virtual prohibition of trade. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island all passed navigation acts forbidding exports in British bottoms. A discriminating tonnage duty was laid upon foreign vessels.

Glut succeeds famine. In the autumn of 1784, the stores of the importing and commission merchants were filled with European goods. Messrs. Amory, in Boston, stopped importing, and were offering goods freely at "2 or 3 per cent. over cost & charges." [1] In the summer of 1785, the usual consequences of a surfeit appeared. Goods could not be sold: country buyers could not pay for what they had bought, and responsible merchants were getting their debts extended in England. Over-trading.

Colonel Febiger, of Philadelphia, made a trip of observation for business into New England, and informed his Danish correspondent, J. Sobotken, June 15, 1785, that he found in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Boston "an amazing Superfluity of all kinds of European goods." [2] The chief supplies were in the hands of British agents, which annoyed the resident citizens exceedingly. Why fight for political independence if British capital could control trade after the citizen was free? New York and Philadelphia were overstocked, but the glut was much worse in New England at that time. The Philadelphian claimed that his own city was easily the first in trade, and "in fact governs the whole Marketts of this extensive Continent." There was no place east of Boston, in his opinion, where a cargo could be sold promptly for cash. Salem, and the lumber ports as far east as the Kennebec, were then dealing freely with the West Indies in the old round of produce ex- Course of commerce.

[1] *MS. Letters.* [2] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, viii. 351–355.

changes.[1] Salem and the ports adjacent shipped also to the Western and Canary Islands, to the Mediterranean, London, and Holland. This round of commerce took in Nova Scotia and the fisheries, for the busy pursuers of the cod were swarming on the Grand Banks again.[2]

These communications brought a surplus of wines and West India produce into New England, and it was sent to New York and Philadelphia. The old coasting exchange was resumed, of fish and imported goods for natural products, with Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

Oriental trade.

The men of Salem were among the pioneers in that greater commerce which was soon to open the little known Antipodes to the American merchant and mariner. A mystic charm impelled the movement. Always, since the Aryan hordes swarmed out from the mother continent, spreading over Europe, then over the new Americas, Oriental trade had attracted the boldest and most venturesome spirits. The wealth of "Ormus and of Ind" drew the dealer in merchandise first across sandy wastes on the camel's back, then, through Prince Henry's enterprise and Vasco da Gama's pluck, along the coasts, by the benighted continent, to the warm tropical seas beyond. Here silks, jewels, and spices, with aromatic tea and coffee, waited for the Aryan cousin voyaging back from the cold climes. Now, the last outgoers from the Aryan stream, the Americans from the last-subdued continent, were about to join the eager throng of visitors. These Yankee sailors, pressing around either great cape, would bring back the rich Asiatic goods to the fishermen and corn-planters of the New England States.

Massachusetts took her old place in the general foreign commerce.[3] In 1783 they had begun to agitate

[1] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 286; Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 759.

[2] Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 200. [3] See 1 *M. H. C.*, iii., and iv. p. 216.

the China trade in Salem.[1] In 1784 the Connecticut men mooted the same question, and asked for state aid in so large a venture, which the sturdy farmers in the legislature wisely declined.[2] In the same year Captain John Green sailed direct in the ship Empress from New York for Canton. In 1785 Elias Hasket Derby cleared his ship Grand Turk, Captain West, from Salem, for the Isle of France, and finally for Canton. She had been at the Cape of Good Hope on a moderately successful voyage in 1785.[3] One purpose in that voyage had been to learn the actual wants and methods of the markets beyond.

In this time of sorrow, the republic was in her moulting season; while painfully casting off the old separative notions of the colonial communities, she was coming into her new national life through deep political agony. Her children were gathering force, and instructing themselves in this rising Oriental commerce which was soon to bourgeon forth in splendid growth. When the United States formed its constitution and based itself on solid political foundations, there were merchants found ready for the commerce which waited for their skilful hand. The creative power of generalisation — that rare intelligence looking beyond fettered routine, yet holding fast the skilled discipline of custom — was in these men, who launched the old privateers, and swept the proud English commerce off the seas. Some of the vessels themselves were converted from privateers to Indiamen.[4] The owners and masters needed no conversion. The old New England moral strength had bred these men in her common life, but larger issues of world-life had developed the venders of fish and lumber into merchants. We pass from the Peter Faneuils, the negro

The great merchants.

[1] Felt, ii. 285, 291.

[2] *Conn. Arch., Trade and Mar. Aff.*, p. 163.

[3] Hunt's *Merch. Mag.*, xxxvi. 165. [4] Hunt's *Am. Merch.*, ii. 17.

and rum dealers of the middle century, to the Derbys, Perkinses, Thorndikes, Browns, and the scores of names whose flag adorned the seas in the last decade. These men brought the far Eastern world home to its new counterpart in the West.

Elias Hasket Derby — the senior of that name — sent The Astrea in 1789, commanded by Captain Magee, to Batavia and Canton. She was not a large ship, — she registered about 330 tons,[1] — but she landed a cargo of great value at Salem in 1790. The "manifest," still preserved, was a document eight feet long, and under it duties were paid amounting to $27,000.[2] On this voyage there went as supercargo Thomas H. Perkins, destined to make a deep impression on the commercial record of the following century. He was a type of the merchants and ship-commanders whom Derby trained for the work. For more than a half century commencing in 1792, when his partnership with his elder brother James began, Perkins carried on a great commercial business, chiefly to the northwest of America and thence to China and Boston.[3] It was claimed in the early nineteenth century that no private firm in the world transacted more business in the China trade.

Thomas H. Perkins and others.

There was no accident in the evolution of such a merchant. His mother, widowed in 1771, took her husband's place in the counting-house, managed business, dispatched ships, sold merchandise, wrote letters, — all with such commanding energy that the solid Hollanders wrote to

[1] The Massachusetts was said to be the largest vessel of her time, built in 1789. She was commanded by Captain Prince, having 75 officers and men, with 20 guns, pierced for 36. She was sold in Canton for $65,000. *N. E. H. and G. Reg.*, xxvi.; also Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 493.

[2] *Essex Inst.*, v. 194; viii. 162.

[3] Hunt's *Amer. Merch.*, i. 3; *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1791–1835, pp. 354–359.

her as to a man.[1] In a whole family of merchants, the exceptional son of such a mother ought to have an exceptional career ending with a large fortune, and his met the natural expectation. His strong intellect, grasping a thorough knowledge of the detail of his business, could plan voyages on principles which ought to insure success. In the latter part of his life, he outlined the future course of the coffee market,[2] at a difficult juncture, with a prescience which was better than divination.

Another of Derby's privateersmen was Joseph Peabody.[3] After the war he ran his own schooner, The Three Friends. But he withdrew from the seas in 1791, becoming a merchant. He built and owned 83 ships, freighting them all himself, and shipping over 7,000 seamen. His active business life included full sixty years.

One of the first operators in the commerce of the Red Sea was Ebenezer Parsons,[4] a younger brother of Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons. His vessels sent from Gloucester to the Indies carried large cargoes of coffee around to Smyrna, making large profits, sometimes 300 or 400 per cent. A strong character, passionate and hasty, but large-hearted and generous, he accumulated a considerable fortune in his successful career. He began in privateering from Newburyport.

Great difficulties.

This commerce around the world began under great difficulties. The modern instruments and appliances for laying the ship's course, and regulating it with certainty, were then ill-developed and hardly known. On the other hand, the modern direction of a ship by electric cable, as she touches one port after another, was then impossible. She sailed bearing written instructions elaborately studied by the projecting merchant. These were made elastic and adaptable to the

[1] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1791–1835, p. 353.
[2] Hunt's *Amer. Merch.*, i. 82.
[3] *Ibid.*, 369–380.
[4] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1791–1835, p. 317.

possible contingencies of a world then dimly understood. The captain must have brains, for he had scant material aids in working forward his voyage. Even after 1800, a youth of nineteen sailed a ship from Calcutta to Boston with no chart whatever, except a small map of the world in Guthrie's geography.[1]

Men large enough to grapple with distant and unknown difficulties must be gotten ready on the spur of the new demand. The old Yankee skipper, shrewd and long-headed, was the progenitor of these daring officers, but his qualities, excellent in the smaller business of the seas, had to be supplemented by deeper and stronger characteristics. As Elias Hasket Derby studied shipbuilding to evolve larger and better models, so he trained the lads of eastern New England into men of a larger mould. He taught them for himself, giving up the leisure hours of his evenings to painstaking instruction. As Moltke trained that German staff which shattered imperial France, this American merchant filled these youths with his rich experience, and inspired them with his own large spirit of enterprise. The best he selected for supercargoes. If these developed the power of command and a large executive spirit, they became shipmasters at last. Captain Cleveland, living until 1857, said of Derby that his "enterprise and commercial sagacity were unequalled in his day, and perhaps have not been surpassed by any of his successors."[2] Cleveland himself made a voyage, in which he, with his two mates, were all under twenty-one years of age.

The successors of the skipper.

Like all grand commerce of the olden time, the China trade was a mighty round of small exchanges multiplied into the final freight of rich goods, which included all the accumulated values that had gone before. For six months before a Canton ship left Salem, a small fleet of brigs and schooners were plying

Elaborate preparation for Oriental commerce.

[1] Hunt's *Amer. Merch.*, i. 136. [2] Hunt's *Merch. Mag.*, xxxvi. 178.

about and getting her with her cargo ready. They brought iron, hemp, and duck from Sweden and St. Petersburg,[1] wine and lead from France, Spain, and Madeira, rum and sugar from the West Indies. Into these exchanges [2] there went fish, flour, and provisions, iron and tobacco, from New York, Philadelphia, and Virginia. An important part of the outfit was in ginseng and specie.[3] In the early voyages, neighboring merchants sent small ventures, paying from 20 to 33⅓ per cent. of their value as freight. The first ships brought back tea largely, and the market was soon overstocked. Coffee then became a better return. This, with tea, muslins, silks, etc., was distributed to the Atlantic ports.

The customary profits on muslins and calicoes from Calcutta was 100 per cent. Some ventures returned like prizes in a lottery. One shipment by the ship Benjamin Silsbee, of plain glass tumblers, costing under $1,000, sold for $12,000 in the Isle of France. Derby generally insured one half his outfit. As he owned one quarter of the Salem tonnage in the last decade, his risks were well distributed. His son was in India three years. In 1789 four of Derby's ships were in Canton. From 1785–1799, he recorded 125 voyages, of which 45 were to India or China. At least 37 vessels were employed. He began

[1] The bark Light Horse, Buffinton, master, cleared from Salem in 1784, was said to be the first American vessel sent to St. Petersburg. *Essex Inst.*, xv. 315.

[2] According to the statement of a British "manufacturer," an American-built ship at this time, of 300 tons, paid for £2,000 worth of English goods. His argument was that the manufacture of these goods employed 200 men for six months. Contrariwise, the exchange only displaced for England the labor of 20 or 30 ship carpenters. *Short Address by a Manufacturer in* 1785, p. 21, Carter-Brown Lib. It is said that the price of vessels built of oak in eastern Massachusetts was $24 per ton.

[3] See Hunt, *Merch. Mag*, xxxvi. 169–171, for a full invoice of a cargo.

to "copper" his vessels in 1796; the custom was then beginning in America.[1] In 1791 he built the new Grand Turk of 564 tons, the largest merchant vessel of Salem[2] at that time.

I have dwelt on the operations of this strong and able merchant, though they should not be considered as excluding those of his peers and equals. He[3] was the type of a generation of sagacious, energetic men in Salem, Boston, and Providence who carried our flag into little known seas in the grandest commerce of their time. Providence sent out her first venture by The General Washington in 1787. After a voyage of nineteen months she connected the port with Canton and its yellow inhabitants. For half a century the business was pushed with much enterprise, and brought considerable wealth to Rhode Island.

Commerce with Northwestern America.

In 1788[4] a Boston ship, Kendrick, master, began the very profitable transactions in furs with the Indians of the Northwest coast of America. The furs were carried across to Canton, where they were in great demand, and exchanged for the products of China. In 1793 three Indiamen were reported as coming in; two for New York, one, The Rising Sun, for Providence. Their cargoes included 2,532 chests Bohea tea, 592 tons of sugar, $14,600, "first cost," in China ware.

Mauritius a way-port.

In prosecuting this trade with the East, our ships found a convenient way-station at Mauritius, or the Isle de France, with its neighboring Bourbon, near Madagascar. In 1787 the French opened these ports to the Americans on equal terms with their own citizens. Our Atlantic states sent vessels to Port Louis, the chief port, which eagerly took from them beef, pork, butter,

[1] By coincidence of dates, the first elephant from Bengal was brought by Captain Crowninshield in The America. It sold for $10,000. Felt, *Salem*, ii. 304.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 296.

[3] See above, p. 777.

[4] Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 249.

flour, fish, wheat, tobacco, naval stores, etc. In return our vessels took coffee, pepper, hides, teas, and East Indian manufactures. Many of the articles sent to Port Louis were exported again to India or China. Some 3,000 tons went to Mauritius in 1788, and about 4,000 tons in 1789. Four French houses at Port Louis had had control of the trade of those Islands with India, and monpolised the crops of coffee, etc. Through their connections in France, they were able to get restrictions on this rising commerce, and they threatened its extinction. The larger interest of France was in the development of the whole trade with America. This larger trade was making of these French ports an *entrepôt* for the products of either hemisphere. Hon. Stephen Higginson set forth these facts very cogently in a letter to John Adams, January 17, 1789.[1] Adams indorsed it to Jefferson, then our minister to France, as "upon a subject of so much importance, and contains so much information," etc. Mr. Adams thought the "jealousy, envy, or caprice" of the French could only result in driving the merchants from the Isles of France and Bourbon. They would seek connections on the continent itself for their mid-exchanges, and thus France would only injure herself. She had an interest at that time in building up the trade of the port of St. Louis as a counterpoise to the British commerce with the East Indies.

John Adams's view.

The trade to the West Indies,[2] so profitable to the colonies, was continued with renewed energy by the states. From sixty to eighty vessels from America were reported at once in a single port. From 1784 to 1793, while the carrying trade was confined to British bottoms, much of our merchandise went to the French islands. By some means it found its way to the British possessions needing it.[3]

West Indian trade.

[1] *U. S. State Dept. Arch.*, Jefferson Cor., Series II. Vol. Let.

[2] See Caulkins, *New London*, pp. 578, 579.

[3] See Young, *W. India C. P. Book*, pp. 133, 143.

Vessels like the old "horse jockeys" from Connecticut were fitted out for this trade. Small sloops carried a surprising number of cattle of all kinds from the south shore of New England to the West Indies, and to the northern coast of the farther America.[1] One brig took 49 horses, but many sloops took 35 in a single cargo. The Enterprise, Williams, master, for Demerara, carried provisions, brick, and lumber, 20 horses, 17 neat cattle, 17 mules, 20 sheep, 20 swine, 150 geese, and 100 turkeys. The return cargo included rum, molasses, sugar, wine, pimento, pepper, tamarinds, sweetmeats, anise-seed, coffee, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and salt. Vessels in this trade averaged two voyages in a year.

Rhode Island laid duties on imports in 1785.[2] Providence had gained some of the commerce which Newport had lost. Newport[3] revived in some degree after the peace, but her old place in the foreign trade was never recovered. The inchoate government of the confederation produced an unsettled condition in foreign trade generally. In Connecticut, memorialists complained, in 1785, of an excise act forbidding any trade in goods produced beyond the United States without a bond of £200.[4]

The whale fishery.

The whale fishery, which suffered so severely in the outbreak of the Revolution, had been slightly encouraged in 1781.[5] The British admiral Digby gave Nantucket permits for twenty-four vessels to pursue the fishery. Several of these vessels were captured by American privateers, but were invariably released in port. Nantucket asked the State of Massachusetts, in 1782, to confirm these privileges by legislation. It was referred to Congress, and was under discussion when the

[1] Caulkins, *Norwich*, pp. 478, 479. [2] *R. I. C. R.*, x. 87, 115.

[3] *Newport H. M.*, ii. 25, for list of vessels.

[4] *Conn. Arch., Trade and Manufactures*, p. 182.

[5] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 72; Macy, *Nantucket*, pp. 116, 117.

news of peace arrived in 1783.[1] Nantucket had been greatly depressed, and this privilege stimulated its business. The resources of the island had been so wasted and diminished that but few vessels could be fitted out under the permits. It was claimed that the ship Bedford, Captain Movers, of Nantucket, was the first vessel to carry the new flag of thirteen stripes into a British port. This was in 1784.[2]

In 1775 it was considered necessary by Massachusetts to give bounties for the encouragement of the fishery; £5 per ton for white sperm oil, £3 for yellow do., and £2 for whale oil were the inducements offered.[3] The first effect was propitious. Provisions had fallen in price so that outfits could be made economically; but the usual results from bounty-fed business followed in this instance. Many new parties having entered the pursuit, the increased quantity of oil found an unwilling market. Long privation had taught families to avoid expensive oil, and to make their own tallow light their homes. Even the light-houses used substitutes for oil. Under these conditions crude sperm oil in 1786 fell to £24 per ton, and head matter to £45 per ton.

About the year 1788,[4] there was an increase in the number of light-houses, and they were returning to their old system of lighting by sperm oil. This demand helped to raise prices. On the other hand, the catch of right whales had increased so much in the far-away seas, that the market could not absorb the whalebone. One dollar per pound was a common price before the war, and it now brought only ten cents. Nantucket was now fitting out as many vessels as her people could man for the chase.

[1] For account of the fishery see 1 *M. H. C.*, iii., and iv. p. 161.

[2] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 79; Macy, *Nantucket*, pp. 125, 131.

[4] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 137.

Rise of New Bedford.

New Bedford also had lost its whaleships in the Revolution. It now engaged in the business with vigor. In the middle of the next century it had absorbed three quarters of the whale fishery of the United States. It was then by far the most important port in the world for that business. New London began in the last decade of the century.

The Nantucket men were stimulated by the example of the China merchants, who were trading in the Pacific on the northwest coast of America. A vessel had been fitted in England during the Revolution, and manned by a Nantucket crew, for the pursuit of whales in the Pacific. In 1789 the ship Ranger,[1] Swain, master, returned to Nantucket from the Pacific with 1,000 bbls. of whale oil. Captain Swain thought no vessel would obtain so large a cargo again. But in 1854 The Three Brothers brought 6,000 bbls. whale, 179 bbls. sperm oil, and 31,000 lbs. bone into Nantucket.

Pacific fisheries.

In 1791 The Beaver, of 240 tons burden, Captain Paul Worth,[2] was regularly fitted, and sailed from Nantucket for the Pacific. Her cost, with outfit, was $10,212. She carried seventeen men, and could man three boats of five men each; there were generally two "blacks," Indians or negroes, included in each boat's crew. When in actual pursuit of the "fish," two men remained as keepers of the ship. In her cargo she carried 400 barrels with iron hoops, and about 1,400 barrels with wooden hoops; 40 bbls. salt provisions, $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons bread, 30 bu. beans and peas, 1,000 lbs. rice, 40 galls. molasses, 24 bbls. flour. These provisions lasted through her voyage, with the addition of 200 lbs. bread. It was known as the "first voyage from Nantucket to the Pacific." After seventeen months' cruising she brought home 650 bbls. sperm oil worth £30 per ton, 370 bbls. head matter worth £60 per ton, and 250 bbls. whale oil worth £15 per

[1] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 96. [2] Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 142.

ton. Captain Worth gave an account of five vessels in the Pacific in February, 1793.[1] The vessel was not coppered. The use of sheathing began shortly after this.

I subjoin the account of the ship Lion,[2] a few years later, as it shows the interesting division and subdivision of the profits among the officers and men on a "lay," which served instead of wages. Details of the business in the Revolution are given below.[3]

[1] *Mass. Mercury*, April 6, 1793.

[2] 2 *M. H. S.*, iii. 19. "Lays" were almost universal, and this account is an example: —

Ship Lion, Nantucket, 1807.

Dr.		Cr.	
To am't charge . . .	$362.75	By 37,358 galls. body oil	$19,766.14
Sundry acc'ts in clearing Ship	*43.38	By 16,868 galls. head matter	17,849.73
Share of Captain $\frac{1}{18}$.	2,072.13	By 150½ galls. black oil	45.15
" Mate $\frac{1}{27}$ . .	1,381.41		
" Second do. $\frac{1}{37}$	1,008.06		
" 2 Ends men each $\frac{1}{48}$	1,554.10		
Share of 5 Ends men each $\frac{1}{75}$	2,486.55		
Share of Cooper $\frac{1}{60}$.	621.64		
" Boy $\frac{1}{120}$ . .	310.82		
" 5 blacks each $\frac{1}{80}$	2,331.14		
Share of 1 black on 400 bbls. $\frac{1}{80}$	108.36		
Share of 1 black $\frac{1}{90}$.	414.42		
" " $\frac{1}{85}$.	438.80		
" " on all but 400 bbls $\frac{1}{90}$ . .	318.10		
Owners' Share . . .	24,252.74		
	$37,661.02		$37,661.02

* Not included in footing; error probably.

[3] The recovery from the disasters of the Revolution was slow. In the period, 1771–1775, the annual output of tonnage in Massachusetts was 27,840, with 4,059 seamen. The annual product was 39,390 bbls. sperm and 8,650 bbls. whale oil. In 1787–89 the annual tonnage was 10,210, with 1,611 seamen. The product was 7,980 bbls. sperm and 13,130 bbls. whale oil. — Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 83.

The great whale fishery must always be considered a fascinating episode in the world's commerce of adventure. New England played a great part in its development and its progress, until the modern industrial system changed the relative value of the product, and steam navigation changed the methods of the pursuit. The golden age of the business was in the years 1835–1846.[1] Then the United States — and chiefly New England — employed in the fishery 678 ships and barks, 35 brigs, 22 schooners. They registered 233,189 tons, and were valued at $21,075,000. At the same time the foreign fleet included 230 vessels.

Cod fisheries.

The pursuit of the cod fisheries[2] in Massachusetts was relatively more prosperous than the whale fisheries. From 1765 to 1775[3] there were sent out 665 vessels annually, 25,630 tons, with 4,405 men. They furnished for Europe 178,800 quintals at 3.5 dollars; for the West Indies, 172,500 quintals at 2.6 dollars. In 1786–1790 the annual fleet was 539 vessels of 19,185 tons, with 3,278 men. It procured for Europe 108,600 quintals at three dollars, for the West Indies 142,050 quintals at two dollars. The proportion of inferior fish was larger. In 1790[4] Congress stimulated the business by a bounty on the export of salt fish, as a drawback for the duties on imported salt. Afterwards a positive bounty was paid to vessels permanently engaged in the cod fishery.

Larger vessels for commerce.

Ships and shipping were an important industry.[5] About fifty years before this period, vessels in general commerce were enlarged in size. The smaller craft were driven out of service by the competition of the larger at less relative expense. Now another enlargement was effected. Connecticut still ran small

[1] Starbuck, *Whale Fishery*, p. 98.

[2] Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 200.

[3] Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 83.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[5] For statistics see Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 435; Felt, *Salem*, ii. 298, 302; Willis, *Portland*, p. 560.

vessels in her direct West Indian and Central American trade. But the general West Indian trade and that along the coast of the United States was transferred to larger craft. Sloops were generally replaced by brigs[1] in this service. The great China trade was demanding a larger class of ships also. These could carry a large crew, and guns sufficient to repel all pirates or an ordinary ship of war. The Massachusetts, of 1789, was surpassed in 1791 by The Grand Turk, of 564 tons. A register of 300 tons was still considered a "large ship." The whaleships were of about this size. Many of these were built in the "North River," at Scituate, in the Old Colony. This district kept good repute in shipbuilding, and educated many shipwrights, who established the business along the whole coast from New York to Maine.[2]

Philadelphia mechanics gave their vessels a better finish. But New England built cheap, staunch vessels, with good sailing qualities. "Boston bottoms with Philadelphia sides" was the proverb for good ships. New England fast recovered its old business in building vessels. We have the testimony of a careful observer, Dr. Pierce, who made a journey from Dorchester through Providence, Norwich, and along the Connecticut coast in 1795. He found "in all the maritime towns great attention paid to the building of ships and smaller craft."[3]

Mast trade.

The "mast trade" was now prosecuted largely on the Connecticut River. Febiger in 1785[4] narrates his negotiations with Henry Porter, of Northampton, who had a store, and from that base conducted large operations in cutting timber up the river. Porter could furnish one or more cargoes in a year of masts from 34 to 39 inches in diameter. The small spars were abundant. They were floated down the Connecticut to

[1] Willis, *Portland*, p. 559.

[2] Deane, *Scituate*, p. 27; Bourne, *Wells and K.*, 571, 579, 758.

[3] *Proc. M. H. S.* 1886, p. 45.

[4] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, viii. 353.

Lyme, and were shipped from some port on the Sound to Europe.

Slavery and the slave-trade.

Commerce in human flesh and spirit was not ended by the Revolution. Fourscore years of political development in the United States, culminating in a great war, were needed for the final abolition of slavery. But for the New England States the Revolution was the death knell of slavery and of the slave-trade protected by the law. Massachusetts having established a "free commonwealth" in making her constitution, slavery fell under its own weight of legal disability. A decision of her Supreme Court in 1783 [1] settled the status of the black, and made him the equal of a white citizen.

Rhode Island, being a continuous commonwealth under her charter, needed legislation which should fit it to the new order of things. The decree of the king had merged itself into a constitution embodying the political life of a representative republic. Accordingly in 1784 the General Assembly [2] enacted that "no person" born after the first of March should be held as a slave. The question of slavery was of more practical importance to her than to the other New England States. In 1787, moved by petitions of the Quakers, she prohibited the slave trade by a formal ordinance with penalties.[3] The little state was largely influenced by the Quakers, who were strong in numbers, and stronger in wealth, intelligence, and social position. Under this influence Rhode Island, in some degree, atoned for her past deeds in promoting the slave-trade. In 1790 the "Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery" was incorporated. A voluntary society had existed for abolishing the trade; the corporation extended its operations to total abolition, and to the assistance of slaves and their manumitted descendants.

[1] Barry, *Mass.*, iii. 189.

[2] *R. I. C. R.*, x. 7.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, p. 262.

In this corporation were joined sixty-eight citizens of Massachusetts, including Jeremiah Belknap, Rev. Samuel Stillman, and Benjamin Waterhouse, and three of Connecticut, including Jonathan Edwards the younger.

In New Hampshire the institution died a natural death. As Belknap said in 1792, "Slavery is not prohibited by any express law. . . . Those born since the constitution was made are free." [1]

Although the legal status of the negro was somewhat different, he was practically treated in the same manner in New Hampshire that he was treated in Rhode Island. Connecticut did not change her royal charter into a state constitution until 1818, and her slaves were freed in 1784.

The slave-trade in New England vessels did not cease when the state forbade it within New England territory. It was conducted stealthily, but steadily, even into the lifetime of Judge Story. Felt gives instances in 1785, and the inference is that the business was prosecuted from Salem. "Of the instructions long given in our country relative to the Guinea trade we have the following. They come to our own threshold. They were indited by men of otherwise respectable standing. . . . The brig Gambia was reported the same month as bound on the like nefarious traffic." [2] Illicit trade.

The "instructions" were given to a brig already cleared and bound for the coast of Africa, November 12, 1785. They are of the same tenor as the many we have reviewed a half century earlier. There is the same sickening detail, directing critical inspection as to "straightness of limbs, goodness or badness of constitution," etc. The cargo was to be husbanded by "bartering rum for slops, and supplying your people with small stores," if such traffic became possible. The captain was to receive "four slaves upon every hundred and four at the place of sale,

[1] Belknap, *New Hamp.*, iii. 211.

[2] Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 288, 289, 291.

the privilege of eight hogsheads, and two pounds eight shillings per month." The first mate had four hogsheads "privilege," the second mate two ditto, besides wages.

Modern respectable traders.

It is to be remembered that the owners, these "gentlemen of otherwise respectable standing," did not move from the same point of departure whence Peter Faneuil and the Rhode Island men moved two generations earlier. The earlier men took the old commerce along the old customary track, before the eighteenth century had wrought its changes. The struggle for American freedom had now opened the eyes of two hemispheres. The "rights of man" was no longer the sounding phrase of theorists. It had changed the face of one continent, and was about to shake the foundations of another. Our Southern States did not destroy slavery, it is true, but their best minds even then forecast its doom.

The New England men did know better, they should have done better, than to imbrue their hands again in the wretched West African traffic. Fortunately they were few in number. The majority of the Salem men were following Derby and his splendid vikings to the far Indian seas.

The great and familiar Pecksniff had his progenitors at that day in his own country. Their compeers and equals were here also. They rolled the whites of their eyes and uttered pious ejaculations as they scanned their ledgers and wrote instructions for turning rum into "Slops" or human souls immaterially. After attending to such matters these "respectable" men take leave of their captain, and "conclude with committing you to the almighty Disposer of all events."[1] The profanity of sailors is grateful music to ears compelled to listen to the prayers of such damnable hypocrites.

The general commerce of the granulated mass of com-

[1] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 290.

munities called the United States, from 1783 to 1789, was probably the poorest commerce known in the whole history of the country. England sent America £3,700,000 worth of merchandise in 1784, and took in return only £750,000. The drain of specie to meet this difference was very severe, and merchants could not meet the engagements so rashly made. They had imported luxuries for customers who were poor, and non-payment through all the avenues of trade was the consequence.

Beggarly commerce.

One circumstance and detail of the internal management of this commerce added to the distress and to the necessary difficulties of the time. Immediately after the peace, British merchants, factors, and clerks came across the seas in streams, to take advantage of the new opportunities for trade. It seemed to the citizens to be a worse invasion of their economic rights than the coming of the troops had been to the political rights of the old colonists. The whole country was agitated, but action was initiated in Boston in 1785. The merchants met and discussed all these difficulties. They pledged themselves to buy no more goods of British merchants or factors in Boston. In about three weeks the mechanics and artisans met in the old Green Dragon Tavern and committed themselves to the same policy.

But the merchants went beyond mere non-intercourse with traders at home. The root of the difficulty was in the ill-regulation or want of regulation of our commerce with all foreign countries. The Confederation was giving and not getting. Where it should have gotten, foreigners were getting, because the parts of the country had not agreed to unite in acquiring for the common benefit, lest some part should be injured in the process. Congress made treaties for the Confederation. But if unable to treat with any power which excluded American shipping from its ports, or laid

Deranged foreign commerce.

duties on American produce, Congress did not control our ports in an equivalent manner. Each individual state was to decide whether the unfriendly power should trade at its own ports. This in effect nullified any retaliatory action.

England, being the best market, virtually controlled any change in commerce, as it was then conducted Her ports were closed to American products unless they were brought in British vessels. France admitted our vessels to her ports, but her merchants cried out against the competition. It was feared that the ministers would be obliged to yield to their clamor and close the ports. Probably the poor economic condition of the country affected the foreign trade even more than the bad adjustment of foreign relations.

All causes combined to form two parties, one advocating imposts upon foreign trade or a Navigation Act, the other opposing this scheme, and insisting upon absolute freedom of commerce. It was in this direction that the Boston people moved, after they had instituted non-intercourse in their own market with British traders. They petitioned Congress to remedy these embarrassments of trade, and sent a memorial to their own legislature. This document urged that body to insist on action by Congress. They formed a Committee of Correspondence to enforce these plans upon the whole country, revolutionary experience having taught them the efficacy of this means of agitation.

Navigation Acts and free trade.

John Adams during his residence in London advocated a Navigation Act with great force and ability. He could not move Pitt or the cabinet to grant what he considered fair and equal privileges of commerce. He wanted retaliatory measures to stimulate the British community to a more practical recognition of American rights. In his view the whole of Europe — friendly and unfriendly powers together — would respect the new nation more when

it should fence in its privileges. When fenced and secured, they could be dealt out and exchanged through treaties.

The "impost," or, in the language of our time, the tariff for revenue, as proposed in 1783, was a very moderate measure. It was fiercely debated, as we have seen, until it was finally adopted by Congress in 1786. But the conditions imposed by the various states[1] in ratifying the Impost Act hampered any effective action under it. The action of New York alone virtually nullified it. Very low duties were laid on seven classes of merchandise; viz., sugars, liquors, teas, coffee, cocoa, molasses, and pepper.

The tariff.

This travesty of imperial government went on until the loose mass of states was fused and converted into a firm union. As the states gave freely of their cherished prerogatives to the central union, each became larger in itself. The parts did not diminish as the whole grew into an empire. The local communities worked their beloved institutions as in the early days of their dependence. The people of the United States, a new political entity, was brought into being through the painful parturition of Revolution and of Confederation. Creative powers, imperial powers, carried in themselves the necessary development of commerce. Europe was soon convulsed by revolutions of her own, far transcending all the petty wars of the New World; needing food and carrying ships, she took them wherever they were to be had. Then New England took her old place in the commercial marine. Her fishermen, sailors, and merchants carried the starry flag throughout the seas of the world.

Union brings commerce.

[1] McMaster, *Hist.*, i. 361.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONFEDERATION SEEKING UNITY IN THE REPUBLIC.

1783–1789.

After the Revolution was effected, the greater task of constructing a stable government was imposed on the people. An anomalous machine, half royal and executive, half parliamentary and legislative, had directed, if it had not governed, the rising colonies. That was now broken. The communities and towns of the Atlantic seaboard were aggregated in districts called states, but these districts were not yet developed into the admirable local organisms we know as states. The people existed, and carried the latent power of a state — of an empire — in their well-tried and enduring political temper. It remained for Madison and Hamilton, afterwards Marshall, to fuse these forces and to embody them in permanent institutions. Thus the republic was organised into an empire without a sovereign, under a sovereignty intrusted by the people to Washington.

Slow evolution of government.

The change experienced by the mind of the people in those scattered states, when they came to the final adoption of the Constitution, must ever be matter for deep thought. After we have analysed and defined the part taken by each individual statesman or each local community, there remains the larger and greater whole that eludes our analysis. The "modified unity" into which the mind of our American people was fused and blended is, and must ever be, a mighty problem in history.

New England contributed indirectly rather than by her

direct action upon this process of consolidating the United States. The Websters of New England contributed a great bridge toward the advance and development of orderly union out of confederate disorder. In this great unifying doctrine — a positive political discovery — the particular states were for the moment ignored in the passage of citizens to their place in the imperial government of the United States. The United States government rested itself immediately upon the citizen, and, after the manner of an ancient king, enforced its own decrees by its own agents. In the absence of the imperial action of the Union, the particular local action of states went forward in its old, familiar channels. After this, the greatest of the controlling ideas of the Constitution, as finally adopted, was in the severance of religion from the central corporation of the state. "Religion was become avowedly the attribute of man and not of a corporation." [1] Heretofore the essence of government and of religion had been one and indivisible. This departure originated in Rhode Island. Small in territory, this little government had established the fact, by a century and a half of political experience, that a society can combine "only in civil things," leaving each individual soul to God. So much Roger Williams and William Coddington gave to mankind. The direct course of Rhode Island during the formation of the Union was lamentable. It was largely due to the revolt of the people against the wisdom of their natural leaders. But writers who dwell on such vagaries of a popular government, where the individual was so little fettered, should remember how much Rhode Island did for other communities as well as her own in founding this individual freedom.

Contributions of New England.

Her foremost citizen in Revolutionary times, Stephen Hopkins, saw as early as 1756 that King and Parliament must yield their ill-exercised prerogatives to American

[1] Bancroft, *U. S.*, vi. 443.

freemen.[1] Jonathan Edwards had worked to establish the same principle on a different ground. He worked for the idea of the sovereignty of God within each individual soul. Out of these profound convictions came finally the self-dependence of the American people and the freedom of the American Church, Catholic or Protestant.

Each man may be great in himself, the whole crowd may be little in the aggregate. How to get a whole result which shall be greater than the parts, — that was the ante-Revolutionary problem. One man thinks, all the men together feel. The power that could kill a king of the seventeenth century and yet save royalty was developed in England. The peers and descendants of those masters of kingly power settled in New England, chiefly in Massachusetts. Here they learned to think and to feel politically. They could resist ministers and Parliament, and yet conserve the institutions on which political order rested. This capacity for bringing each individual man and woman into harmony with the actual government of society through orderly political action was manifested especially in Massachusetts. She gave it to the nation.

Political society.

A convention met at Annapolis, Md., in 1786, to discuss methods of enabling Congress to regulate commerce. This body was the forerunner of the greater convention assembled in Philadelphia in 1787. It has been remarked by more than one judicious observer of American history that commerce, or the lack of regulated commerce, was the impelling necessity which forced states and people into the formation of a more consolidated national government. Bad finance, public debts unpaid, soldiers suffering for their just pay, national discredit, — all this affected the popular mind not so much as broken trade. The weakness of state governments — a notable instance of which will be mentioned directly — was a direct reason for creating some central authority.

Commercial convention.

[1] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 515.

It was not to be expected that order could be brought out from the chaotic tendencies of revolution without great struggles and difficulties. The times were sadly out of joint. The immediate difficulty in every man's life was economical. War spends frightfully, but revolution deranges the body politic by which war and peace alike obtain their supplies. Patriotism, the greatest of virtues, often directly opposes economy, the least and therefore the most frequent and necessary of all the virtues. King and Parliament deposed, state obligations repudiated, currency broken, then property was assailed. The debtor and the poor man cried out for justice. The whole institution of property — the economic basis on which social order rests — was assailed.

Economic disorder.

As taxation is the root of political power, so it is the most offensive of all the prerogatives of government. And as the best qualities of the self-governing citizen were produced in Massachusetts,[1] so resistance to taxation and rebellion broke out there in the year 1786.[2] From 1781 through the last throes of the Revolution, conventions and all the forms of popular agitation had been at work in the sparsely settled Western counties. By 1783 the southeastern towns of Massachusetts were infected, and armed bands came into the adjoining districts of Rhode Island,[3] rescuing offenders arrested for resisting collection of the taxes. In Gloucester, R. I., rioters resisted, seizing distrained cattle, and releasing prisoners held for taxes. A meeting was held in Killingly, Ct., to spread the new gospel. The governors of the three states acted in concert, and suppressed this movement. It did not pass beyond conspiracy and riot.

Taxation resisted.

In the above named year Daniel Shays, a captain resigned from the Revolutionary army, brave in the field but

[1] Massachusetts had a form of stamp tax, also, which was unpopular and was resisted. Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 126.

[2] Barry, *Mass.*, iii. 218.

[3] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 489.

unfit for a general, bankrupt in fortune, came to the front in western Massachusetts. Luke Day, another captain, major by brevet for honorable service, a stronger man, was "the master spirit of the insurrection;"[1] but Shays was the more prominent leader. The epidemic spread from Hampshire to Worcester, to Middlesex and Essex. Recruits were drilled by the leaders about Springfield, and those who were able armed themselves. Judges were threatened and the courts interrupted; the legislature, in the lower house at least, was infected. But the spirit of order gradually prevailed, more severe laws against illegal assemblies and rioting were passed, *habeas corpus* was suspended for eight months, and taxation was somewhat ameliorated.

Shays' rebellion.

In January, 1787, the rebellion culminated. Some 1,800 men were organised in or near Springfield to resist the authority of the commonwealth. The state troops were mustered under the command of Major General Lincoln, who moved vigorously against the insurgents. The rebellion crumbled at the first shock, and there was little or no blood shed. The state treated the misguided rebels with great clemency.

This rebellion was the sore which revealed disease in the whole body politic. The power of the state, however misdirected in former generations, was not now directed at all. Peace had not brought prosperity; commerce languished, or was carried on by foreigners. Manufacturers dreaded the competition of goods manufactured under better-ordered governments, where labor was cheaper and better applied, and the people asked for protection for their own goods. Agriculture could not be destroyed, but it needed the mutual support of commerce and manufactures. Farmers and laborers suffered especially from the wretched derangement of the currency.

Reveals the political condition.

[1] Barry, *Mass.*, iii. 233.

The troubles from the condition of the currency were many and various. One series was moneyed and came from the unit of value; another and more important series inhered in the currency as a basis of credit, and this affected all contracts.

In the first instance, the unit of value represented by the dollar was practically uncertain. The nominal pound never was money in any large sense in America. It varied as a standard in different colonies from 966 grains of silver to 1,547 grains, being divided into shillings, and these into pence, so that the value of the pence varied with the locality. The nominal pound was the unit of barter. The coined silver and gold of sterling value was kept at home, as far as possible, by the British government. The colonies had been forced to largely use the Spanish milled dollar or "piece of eight" in actual transactions throughout their financial history. My own citations of figures, as they have occurred in many records, show the confusion of pounds and dollars. The dollar meant 6 shillings in New England, 8*s.* in New York, 7*s.* 6*d.* in Pennsylvania. Congress was driven notwithstanding, to adopt the dollar and its decimal cent, as the least variable unit within their reach.[1] Congress did not furnish these actual dollars and cents in metal until 1787, when the mint commenced operations.[2] But the states could work by easier processes; they printed money, almost for the asking. The currency.

Meanwhile specie took its usual course in a depreciated currency. It would not stay by the printing-presses, but went where it was wanted for actual use. In 1786 the whole country was shocked by the report that one vessel was carrying from Boston to London[3] the largest amount

[1] I am indebted to Charles J. Hoadley, Esq., for the first suggestion of this historical evolution of the pound and dollar.

[2] For the value of coins see Belknap, *New. Hamp.*, iii. 226.

[3] McMasters, *Hist. U. S.*, i. 294.

of specie shipped in twelve years. Dollars, joes (the coin of Portugal), guineas, crowns, pistoles, and bullion were piled together and borne across the seas from poor America to rich Britain. Again the best prosperity appeared, to the popular mind, like the worst disaster. New England had the money to send. She had manufactured the most, money was scarce and needed, therefore manufactures were unprosperous. Such was the popular logic.

Broken credit.

This ridiculous outcry reveals the larger series of troubles, those of broken credit, underlying the currency, to which I have referred. States were repudiating their debts; merchants, foreign and domestic, were over-importing commodities; debtors could not pay, and the courts could not find means to enforce payment. The machinery for exchanging property creaked in every joint, because the whole system of finance was ill-adjusted. Such prosperity as the people had — and they had much — could not be made available.

Financial methods.

Merchants took any movable property they could obtain, then took mortgages or public securities of any kind. Then they took farms from one debtor, cattle from another, and placed the cattle on a farm.[1] And in some cases where the creditor "obtained execution against substantial people, we are no nearer getting our money, which is impossible to raise, even if they would sell farms generally valued at £800 for £300."[2]

The distress was beyond our comprehension. The account below[3] gives us a faint idea of events as they occurred.

[1] For rents of farms see *R. I. C. R.*, viii. 505; ix. 44.

[2] J. and J. Amory, *MS. Letters*, 1786.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 123: —

Boston *October* 16, 1786

Messrs. Dowling & Son:

The principal surety lives in New Hampshire, where laws have been made (since our taking the security) making lands set off at an appraisement satisfaction of an Execution, & this is in a manner an-

Massachusetts also came near, in 1786, to passing the act for making real and personal estate a legal tender. Fortunately she rejected it. Rhode Island adopted it in 1789,[1] completing her drama of insolvency. She had tried forcing acts[2] to compel the exchange of property for paper money, which broke down in the celebrated case of *Trevett* v. *Weeden*. The course of paper money in New Hampshire[3] and in the territorial districts of Vermont was quite similar.[4]

The survey of history must move in periods, but there is hardly any stop in the progress of affairs. By common consent, the year 1783 has been made an epoch in industrial development. About this time, England especially, by the improvement of carding, spinning, and weaving machinery, took a portion of her labor-

Division of labor.

nihilating property, as in the first place you are generally cheated one half or two thirds in the valuation of the land, and in the next place, you can neither sell or rent them to any profit. It is in this manner we suffer ourselves, having 4 or £5,000 due to us in that state. Mrs. Willard, the other surety, what she has in debts she cannot raise a penny from, neither could we distress her, being a very old infirm Lady with whose friendship we have been honored for many years. Add to this the present confusions which no doubt your newspapers will be filled with. Our Courts are stopped by mobs and all government is in a manner at an end. The Federal Court now sitting was called together on this occasion but such a universal discontent prevails on account of taxes which the farmers can't pay and such distress among an infinite number of debtors who from the scarcity of money are unable to pay their creditors, that the Court are unable to find a remedy for these evils. At present it seems that nothing will satisfy the body of the people but an exemption from taxes and either paper money or a Law making lands and personal estate of any kind a tender for debts. If this takes place it will be the utter ruin of a great number of people who have invested their whole property in public securities which will be of no value if taxes cannot be raised.

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, x. 361. [2] Arnold, *R. I.*, ii. 521, 525, 528.
[3] *N. H. H. C.*, iii. 117 ; *Town Pap.*, ix. 311.
[4] McMasters, *Hist. U. S.*, i. 341, 347.

ers from agriculture, and placed them in organised manufactories of textile fabrics. America had far less resource in capital or skill trained in industries, but the same tendency manifested itself here. As early as 1778, Elkanah Watson[1] had noted the "infant manufactures," in common with fisheries and commerce, as the "sinews of the North." Boston formed its association of tradesmen and manufacturers in 1785, one indication of the movement in New England. The new machinery for carding, drawing, and spinning cotton, invented by Hargreave, Compton, and Arkwright, with the loom of Cartwright, gradually established themselves. The domestic manufactures of England were changing into the great modern system of classified and organised textile manufactures. A stringent Act of Parliament (14 Geo. III. c. 71) was designed to check the export of this machinery.

But invention cannot be confined. Wherever a people exists capable of adopting new discoveries, there the industrial atmosphere wafts the pollen of invention and new growth springs up. Congress had laid increased duties upon foreign manufactures in 1785.[2] In several places our busy mechanics and enterprising men of affairs were at work upon the new problem of manufactures. An attempt at spinning and weaving cotton had been made at Worcester in 1780.[3] Orr, of Bridgewater, an active mind, had assisted two Scotchmen named Barr to build a "stock card" and spinning-jenny in 1786.[4] The state recompensed the Barrs in lottery tickets, and allowed Orr to use the machines. In 1787 Cabot and others had begun at Beverly with these or similar machines. In 1787 Daniel Anthony, with Peck and Dexter, made machines at Providence, following the construction of those of Orr or the Barrs; these were a

Manufactures in New England.

[1] *Travels*, p. 70.

[2] Bancroft, *U. S.*, vi. 141.

[3] *Hist. Worcester Co.*, p. 321.

[4] See Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 398 *et seq.*, for details of this period.

card and jenny. The carded rolls of cotton, 18 inches long, were pieced together on a hand-wheel. In 1788 Joseph Alexander and another Scotchman came to Providence, and Alexander operated the first loom with a fly-shuttle in America, so far as is known. The loom was started in the old market house. Moses Brown purchased the machinery of these Providence operators, after their attempts had failed, and moved it to Pawtucket.

September 13, 1789, Samuel Slater sailed from London, arriving in New York about November 18th. He had emigrated intending to go to Philadelphia, where the manufacturing of cotton had been much agitated. But the stronger industrial currents of New England drew him to Providence, as appears in our account.[1] January 18, 1790, he was taken to Pawtucket by Moses Brown. December 20, 1790, Slater started there three cards, drawing and roving frames. Two spinning-frames of 72 spindles were constructed under his direction, and the machinery was operated by a water-wheel in an old clothier's building, where a fulling-mill had been driven. This was the first successful manufacture of cotton in the United States.

Samuel Slater and Moses Brown.

Cotton spinning.

Others had made gallant attempts; these were the successful pioneers of this industry, which has spun its threads into the whole destiny of this great country. Moses Brown was a man of large intelligence on every side. He had that spirit of enterprise that builds communities as well as accumulates fortunes. His large trust in his fellow-men, his sound judgment of affairs, and his courage, speak out in his invitation to Slater; without his capital, and steadfast energy the enterprise of Slater might not have succeeded. He furnished the capital for Almy (his son-in-law), Brown (his relative), and Slater, when they built their first cotton factory in 1793.

[1] See Appendix I.

Samuel Slater was a bold leader in business. If he did not invent, he brought great force of character and adaptive skill to the operation of the newly invented machinery. He incorporated the administrative capacity of the Englishman with the quick ingenuity of the American mechanics, whom he found ready for his work. In the Wilkinsons, at and near Pawtucket, he found the best mechanical skill that any new country or any race of men could furnish. They helped to build these machines.

In 1789 Providence founded its "Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers (now extant), for the purpose of promoting industry, and giving a just encouragement to ingenuity."[1] In the years immediately following our period, the Pawtucket mechanics made several inventions which much assisted the new cotton machinery and the growth of mechanical industries in general. These inventions were stimulated by the incoming of Slater, if not an immediate outgrowth from his system. The course of American mechanical engineering toward the minor inventions of England has always been in one direction. The English develop a machine or system of machinery out of their large industries, and by means of their enormous capital. The American mechanics take that mechanical process, then simplify it by their deft arrangement of forces, or invent new and more direct processes to attain equivalent results. This has happened in hundreds of instances. In the great inventions, America has generally led all nations.

Minor inventions.

Thus in 1791[2] Sylvanus Brown invented the slide lathe, to turn rollers, spindles, etc., for the cotton machinery. This was the first invention for "turning" iron, and it was soon applied to the cutting of screws for pressing oil, etc. The advance over old processes was quite equal to the walking of an adult as compared to the creeping of an infant. Ozias Wilkinson, in the same year, built a small

[1] *R. I. C. R.*, x. 315.

[2] Goodrich, *Pawtucket*, pp. 48, 51.

"air furnace" for casting iron, and made the first American "wing-gudgeons" for Slater's "old mill." These facilities brought one Baldwin from Boston, for canal machinery and iron castings were made for a drawbridge at Cambridge.

From 1785 to 1791[1] cotton was being introduced into the Southern States from West Indian seed, to meet the new demand for Northern manufactures as well as for exportation.

The manufacture of duck for canvas had been always encouraged by the colonies. Canvas was a prime necessity for the fisheries and for commerce. It had been a grievance that sails made or repaired must use British-made duck, or foreign that had paid British duties. About this time, duck mills were tried with varied success in several places.[2] In 1788 or 1789, a large manufactory of linen canvas started in Boston. It was far beyond any other industrial enterprise of that time in its organisation, and in the excellence of its product. The ship Massachusetts, already noticed as the largest vessel of her time, was suited in sails and cordage made in Boston. In 1792 the product of canvas had risen to 2,000 yards per week, and 400 hands were employed. The practical mind of Washington was much attracted to this establishment when he visited it in 1789, and he commended especially the moral order that reigned there.

Cotton duck.

Next to the inventions of Arkwright, Compton, and their contemporaries, the manufacture of all textiles has been most advanced by the invention of machine-made cards. These are not the engines themselves, but the leather and wire cards with which the revolving cylinders are covered. Carding, *i. e.* separating, straightening, and arranging fibres of cotton or wool, is a

Wire cards.

[1] *M. H. S. Proc.* 1855, p. 224 ; Pitkin, *Statistics*, p. 131.

[2] See Felt, *Salem*, ii. 168 ; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 448 ; *R. I. C. R.*, x. 121, 180 ; Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, ii. 419, 420.

vital process in all textile manufactures. Hundreds of fine wire teeth are set in a square inch of leather. The leather must be pierced, the wire cut and bent twice into a loop, then thrust through the leather and bent into two knees. The angle at which the wire teeth strike the fibre is an important element in carding. In making the "hand cards" used literally for ages, all this work had to be painfully manipulated.

About 1784 one Chittenden, of New Haven, had invented a machine for bending and cutting the wire.[1] He could shape and finish 36,000 teeth per hour, a great gain. Eleazer Smith, one of the inventors of card-setting machinery, was at work about the same time.[2] In 1788 Giles Richards and others formed a company and started the manufacture of cards, which Washington visited in the following year; 63,000 pairs of cards of all kinds were made that year. They sold at lower prices than the imported ones, and many had been smuggled into England. Smith was at work there, though it is asserted also that the machines used had been invented by Oliver Evans. Other manufactories were started. It was claimed that one employed 1,200 hands, chiefly women and children, the latter in sticking the teeth. In earlier days, women near the factories carried leather and teeth in tin pans when they spent an afternoon with their friends. Setting the teeth was an industrial amusement, like knitting.[3]

Whittemore's machines.

The invention completed itself in 1797 in the hands of Amos Whittemore, an ingenious gunsmith, formerly employed by Giles Richards & Co. With his brother he started a factory with the machinery above described. His patents date from 1796, and they include an epoch-making invention. One machine held and pierced the leather, drew the wire from a reel, cut and bent the looped tooth, inserted it and bent the knees,

[1] Bishop, ii. 497, 518. [2] *Worcester Soc. Antiq.*, v. 20.
[3] Greene, *East Greenwich*, p. 57.

passing out a whole card of any size or shape. The invention made a revolution in the business, and was introduced into England.

War promotes enterprise.

Wars that do not actually impoverish their peoples promote organised industries. The necessity of the moment stimulates new inventions and new arrangements of labor. But beyond this, people sink their individualism for a time, overcome local isolation, and bend together in new work. All this promotes enterprise in the largest sense. We saw this manifested in cotton-spinning, duck-weaving, card-making, etc. It appeared also in woollen manufacture. Wool[1] had been worked more thoroughly than any other staple in the domestic industries; the time had come for a factory, an evolution beyond the house, a place of organised effort.

A woollen factory.

As early as 1788, Daniel Hinsdale and others established a woollen factory at or near Hartford. The capital was £1,250 in £10 shares. Jeremiah Wadsworth was interested, and the legislature encouraged it. It is asserted that 5,000 yards of cloth was made there from September, 1788, to September, 1789. Some of this sold at five dollars per yard. Washington was much interested in this affair, so closely connected with the future progress of the country. He notes that all the parts were carried on there except spinning; that was done by the country people. Broadcloths, "not of the first quality as yet, but they are good," were made. There were made also "coatings, cassimeres, serges and everlastings." He ordered a suit of the broadcloth for himself, and a whole piece of everlasting to make breeches for his servants. When he received the suit he wrote General Knox that it "exceeds my expectations."[2] The "Hartford grey" was a celebrated cloth. Pierpont, a cloth-

[1] Rhode Island encouraged sheep by a bounty conferred in 1786. *R. I. C. R.*, x. 182. Act repealed the next year.

[2] *Maine H. C.*, iv. 60.

dresser there, finished in seven months, about 1789, at one press, 8,134 yards of cloth, of which 5,282 yards were fulled.[1] A factory began at Stockbridge, Mass., about as soon as at Hartford.

The worsted which we noted as spun in the household in early colonial days, was woven, according to President Washington, into serges and everlastings at Hartford. It was also knit by machinery into stockings. An establishment working eight stocking-looms is recorded at Norwich in 1789.

Evolution of manufactures.

The constructive power, the inventive genius of our people, went forward from this great impulse imparted in the waning years of the century, until the land has been filled with factories. Every article used or touched by man — the persistent meddler with established Nature — becomes a new thing thrilling with humanity. This new creature of civilisation has writ himself all over the matter provided by Nature, until that matter is turned by his restless brain and ready hand into new organic forms. One generation sinks enervated by the luxury thus engendered, but another springs forward with appetite made keener by the new opportunities for mastering the surrounding Nature. This great result of the eighteenth century, this process of bringing all material forces into harmony with a mind that directs, wrought a change in the word that describes it. The old name "manufacture" gradually changed from its true meaning to mean the making of things by the working together of all the forces of nature, through processes which imitate the stroke of the human hand.

Household industries.

While the movement was making the initial start I have described, the old household industries made a final effort to renew their hold on the growing life of the new time. It was the outward hectic flush that animates the inner processes of decay. The

[1] Bishop, i. 418.

domestic textile industries were beyond question a positive factor in common life and prosperity. The necessity imposed by the war and the patriotic spirit of independence had worked together to increase production among the people. The cards so ingeniously manufactured were made primarily for hand and not for machine use. The quantities made in Boston, under President Washington's eye, were used by the industrious women of New England, or were exported to other states. Cotton, wool, flax, were all worked into fabrics, though Washington thought the linen product had been overestimated in the reports carried South. Even thread and silk laces or edgings were made at Ipswich, Mass. Connecticut and Massachusetts had a surplus of these homespun fabrics, which they sent into the Middle States in exchange for provisions. This creation by the home industries had forestalled the market furnished by the increasing population. It was a chief cause in the disasters of the importing business following the Revolution.

But this every-day movement was not enough for the hectic feeling that broke out in 1787–1789. An outcry was made against the luxury said to be eating away the substance of the people. Poor administration of government, especially in finance, was deranging the whole body politic. A new social movement[1] was instituted in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to promote economy, and to encourage domestic industries especially. "The Rich & great strive by example to convince the populace of their error by growing their own Flax (and wool) having some one in the family to dress it, & all the females spin, several weave & Bleach the linen."

Throughout the land, the old spinning-matches were revived, and while the Rev. Mr. Murray preached to the faithful economists, filling the rooms of his parsonage,

[1] Bishop, i. 411 ; Arnold, ii. 552 ; McMaster, i. 314 ; Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 261 ; Bailey, *Andover*, p. 403.

"the wise-hearted did spin with their hands." It was a true festival of the plain people of New England, combining religion, industry, and economy. "A pleasing sight. Some spinning, some reeling, some carding the cotton, some combing the flax."[1]

Iron and nails.

The next industry of importance was in the manufactures of iron. The slitting-mills were increased generally in the years following the Revolution. The new commerce with Russia, which attained large proportions in 1790, brought in large quantities of iron in bars and rods. The making of nails was of immense importance to the whole settlement and household economy of America. Wood was abundant, and artificers constructed it ingeniously into houses and furniture more comfortable and convenient than the world had ever had for its common people. This great evolution of utensils in wood required nails. Jacob Perkins, a wonderful inventor of Newburyport, started a machine for cutting and heading them, in Amesbury, about 1790.[2] In the following decade, 23 patents were granted in the United States for improving this excellent device for elevating the condition of mankind.

The business of distilling liquors was revived. Rhode Island[3] repealed her Act of 1777, which forbade the use of grains for such purposes. Nathan Read, of Salem, made improvements in the process of distillation,[4] as while distilling he succeeded in obtaining saleratus, by subjecting pearlash to the fumes of the fermenting molasses.[5]

One of Rochambeau's staff[6] had noted the great inge-

[1] Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 261.

[2] Bishop, i. 492. See, also, Barry, *Hanover*, p. 142; *Worcester Soc. Antiquity*, v. 20; Mitchell, *Bridgewater*, p. 59.

[3] *R. I. C. R.*, x. 318.

[4] For the West India process, see Edwards, *W. I.*, ii. 51.

[5] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 175, 187.

[6] *Mag. Am. Hist.*, iv. 214.

nuity of the Connecticut mechanics. He was also attracted by the paper-mills and two chocolate factories at Milton, Mass. After the war, some of the old powder-mills were turned into manufactories of paper, there being a considerable increase in the manufacture of this article.[1]

General increase of manufactures.

These growing manufactures, thus briefly noted, were extended in the last decade. As soon as the new republic established itself firmly, manufactures, like commerce, increased rapidly, and shared the rising prosperity. By 1793 Worcester County[2] was fairly alive with industries. A significant indication of the movement of the time appears in the importation of skilled labor. Salem[3] chronicles, July 7, 1795, that "thirty mechanics and manufacturers from London arrived lately."

Stages and packets.

The roads of New England and the means of transportation had changed little for a half century. Stages had been gradually introduced on the more frequented routes. About 1795 there was a movement[4] to improve the roads in various directions, especially on the great line of communication from Boston to New York. According to President Quincy, the journey overland occupied a week, being accomplished in eighteen-mile stages. All day, until ten in the evening, the rickety carriage labored, drawn by two horses, partly harnessed with ropes, and with a driver half intoxicated. Quagmires were frequent, and the passengers must be ready to help in overcoming such obstacles. Only two coaches and twelve horses were employed on this great route.

Packet sloops ran from New York to Providence, and coaches carried the passengers thence to Boston. In

[1] Bailey, *Andover*, pp. 581 84.

[2] Whitney's *Hist.*, pp. 79, 109, 183, 198, 201, 213, 229, 240, 242, 247, 260, 267, 278, 297.

[3] Felt, ii. 303.

[4] *Hist. Stamford*, p. 438.

1793 the stages went from either place on alternate days.[1] Packets ran to other points on the navigable waters. But they were an uncertain and shifting means of conveyance. Newbury put the first four-horse coaches on the Boston route in 1774.[2] Stages did not make their way into Maine until 1787, when Joseph Barnard, the old post-rider, started a two-horse wagon that met the Boston stage at Portsmouth.[3] Post-riders were common in the latter years of the century.[4]

Our generation can form slight conception of the difficulties of travel, or the strength of the travellers. One Metlin was a baker at Portsmouth. He would walk sixty-six miles in one day, buy his flour and ship it by a coaster to his home; then he would return on foot the next day.[5] He continued this practice until eighty years of age. The tradition runs that a cabinet-maker living a dozen miles from Providence made light tables and stands to be sold in that town. He could not afford to hire a wagon to convey them thither, and mounted them in an unwieldy package on one shoulder. As the ill-balanced load strained his aching shoulder, he would take a stout rail from the fence and burden the other shoulder in compensation. Thus he travelled cheerfully to his market.

Class distinctions.

Sturdy, solid men and women went out and in, while doing the common business of New England in the post-Revolutionary days. They were usually dressed in homespun, though the gentry wore the European dress common to their class. This distinction of the "gentleman" was charily recognised now. The careful social classification I have described in so many forms was gradually breaking down under the pressure of the eighteenth century, the Revolution hastening the oblitera-

[1] *Mass. Mercury*, June 12, 1793.
[2] Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 71.
[3] Willis, *Portland*, p. 586.
[4] Bailey, *Andover*, p. 407.
[5] Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 289.

tion of class distinctions. Its doctrines of political equality, its easy creation of new and its ruthless destruction of old families and fortunes, all united in working out changes in society. It is stated that John Adams uses the term "gentleman" occasionally, and that he does use it after the Revolution is matter of remark.

There were yet men and women of mark, boundary limits in the social territory, pivots in the social movement of this incessantly active life. The dress[1] of gentlemen was that of fifty years before, simplified somewhat by the more sober taste prevailing. The old cocked hat rested on a bottomed wig. Coats were without collars, with full, broad skirts, or fitted more to the body and cut away over the thighs. Large pocket flaps and cuffs were after the old fashion. Buttons, plated or in silver, ornamented the front, as well as the long waistcoat; this was buttoned closely, with a simple neck-cloth, or opened over ruffled shirt fronts; and ruffles were worn at the wrist. The neck-cloth was often of lace, or embroidered, the ends long and swinging. Breeches fitted closely, with buckles at the knee. Long gray stockings were assorted with white-topped boots, or with silver-buckled shoes; in full dress, the stockings were of white or black silk.

Dress.

Ladies attired themselves in caps and high-heeled shoes, and took the air in bonnets of silk or satin. Gowns, of brocade or other rich material, were very long in the waist, and they overlaid stiff stays. Tight sleeves prevailed, but the loose frilled sleeve falling over the bare forearm, previously described, was still worn. Hoops, once driven out by an earthquake, were in wear again. The most persistent ornament was a string of gold beads, the size of peas, worn about the neck. Thirty-nine was said to be

[1] Newhall, *Lynn*, pp. 348, 349; Bailey, *Andover*, p. 403; *N. H. H. C.*, iii. 37; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 444; Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 680; *Mag. Am. Hist.*, x. 258, 259.

the customary number. One proverb of the historical old woman affirmed that she was "so poor she had n't a bead to her neck."

These were the best clothes. When the social excitement tended to drive out foreign merchandise, as on the occasions described, then rich people dressed in homespun to encourage the fashion. For better wear, the homespun was not only fulled but regularly "finished," and it was then known as "pressed woolens." One man wore homespun at college for two years, then his suit was a "boughten one." Laborers and boys wore leather breeches. It was common to walk from the farms barefooted on Sunday, then to don stockings and shoes as they approached the village. Women of good condition would wear old shoes, which they thrust into a shrub or wall by the roadside, and replaced with their best shoes, before they entered a village. So severe were the methods of economy.

Mourning garments did not come in fashion again immediately after the privations of the Revolution. Mr. Amory[1] upbraids his English correspondent, June 18, 1784, for sending an invoice of black crapes, "as mourning is not worn."

The fashion of houses was essentially the same as has been described in the second quarter of the century.

Growth of the family.

A controlling feature of our society was in the rapid and easy growth of the family out of the conditions prevailing in all the towns. The common people created self-sustaining families as readily as the banyan tree spreads a grove around the parent trunk. New land was easily obtained. A thrifty farmer[2] could buy acres enough on which to settle his sons from the savings of a few years. The axe could create the log-house anywhere, and in most places sawmills gave a cheap supply of planks and deals. The splitting of

[1] J. and J. Amory, *MS. Letters.* [2] Belknap, *N. H.*, iii. 260.

shingles was an accomplishment almost as common as whittling. The practice of making this cheap and excellent roofing material was carried into the Middle States by the New England emigrants.[1] The homestead was often given to the younger son, who provided for the parents in their old age, the elder brothers having acquired settlements of their own. Thus the teeming social soil was ready for the family roots, which were constantly extending. Unmarried men of thirty were rare in country towns. Matrons were grandmothers at forty; mother and daughter frequently nursed their children at the same time. Father, son, and grandson often worked together in one field; and the field was their own.

In external life these freemen and their families wrought at the work described through these pages. Their life within was influenced largely by the minister, in a less degree by the schoolmaster and the doctor. A few academies with limited resources prepared lads for Harvard or Yale. The great body of the people were educated in the district school, two months in the winter by a man, two months in summer by a woman. The three R's were taught there by a poor scholar generally, or by a youth who was earning means to complete his own education. The range of books was very limited. Stout old Ezekiel Cheever's Latin Accidence had held the ground during the century for the upper class of pupils. Noah Webster's spelling-book was just coming into use, with Webster's Selections, Morse's Geography, and the Youth's Preceptor, etc.[2] The Bible was the groundwork of all reading. The helps to the pupils being few in comparison with modern resources and methods, the self-help and reliance developed by this crude system of education was something remarkable.

Educational influences.

This appeared in average characters and ordinary minds. But let us turn to the superior individuals bred

[1] St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, p. 81. [2] Felt, *Salem*, i. 485.

under this system. Mary Moody Emerson, sister of the preacher William, aunt of Ralph Waldo, and descended from a line of our ministers, was a high type of her class. Born about 1774, her maturity was later than our period, but its essential features were the same. In these years she was reading Milton, Young, Akenside, Samuel Clarke, Jonathan Edwards, and "always the Bible." Take a week from her diary: "Rose before light every morn; visited from necessity once, and again for books; read Butler's Analogy; commented on the Scripture; read in a little book, Cicero's Letters, — a few; touched Shakspeare; washed, carded, cleaned house, and baked. To-day cannot recall an error, nor scarcely a sacrifice, but more fullness of content in the labors of a day never was felt. There is a secret pleasure in bending to circumstances while superior to them."[1] Noble privation! The spirit compressed within these narrow bounds springs upward toward the infinite, as the archer's bolt flies from the constraining hand that forced it down. And what economy and ordered expenditure, there was of all that makes life valuable! "I had ten dollars a year for clothes and charity, and I never remember to have been needy, though I never had but two or three aids in those six years of earning my home."

Similar but closer economy prevailed in the Nott family, on a stony farm in Connecticut, during our period. A dozen sheep and one cow comprised the stock, and to her yield of mild the latter added service at the plough. Corn-bread, milk, and bean porridge were the staples of the diet. The father being incapacitated by illness, the mother did her work in the house and helped the boys in the fields. Once in mid-winter, one of the boys needed a new suit, and there was neither money nor wool in the house. The mother sheared the half-grown fleece from a sheep, and in a week it was made into clothing. The

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1883, p. 733.

shorn sheep, so generous in such need, was protected by a wrappage made of braided straw. They lived four miles from the meeting-house, to which the mother and her two boys walked every Sunday. The boys became Samuel and Eliphalett Nott, one a famous preacher, one the president of Union College.

Of such stuff were the ministers who trained the mothers, and of the mothers who bred the ministers. Physicians. The physician had not then become the priest and natural confessor of the American household, as he is to-day; but he was of great importance in the social system. His education through books was scanty, judged by modern standards, while a large knowledge of human kind drawn from direct observation served to bring him into close accord with his patients. Apothecaries were hardly known outside the largest towns; for the doctors' saddle-bags carried the simple pharmacy to the remotest hut. Cheerfully these public servants toiled over the hardest roads, in every season and in all weather, to attend rich and poor alike; the country doctor could not choose his patients if he would. A rigid standard of custom gave his services to all who needed them, fees being hardly considered when any one needed medical attendance.

The fees were very modest. Even in Boston, prior to 1782, the ordinary visit was charged at one shilling sixpence to two shillings. Half a dollar was only charged "such as were in high life." In that year a club of the leading physicians[1] fixed the common fee at fifty cents, in consultation at one dollar. Night visits were doubled; midwifery was at eight dollars; capital operations in surgery, at five pounds lawful money; medicines were charged at very high prices, comparatively.

Amusements were more general than in the earlier days, though a "playhouse" was not opened in Boston until 1794. Amusements. A company from Boston played

[1] *M. H. S. Proc.* 1863, p. 181.

the "Beaux' Stratagem" at Salem in 1792, causing much discussion concerning "the tendency of these performances."[1] The first circulating library had been opened there in 1789.

French[2] was taught in Newport and Salem, as well as in the chief city. Dancing schools[3] were common, and generally taught by Frenchmen, though they did not extend to Maine until 1798.[4] The minuet was the favorite measure on state occasions, with reels, jigs, and contradances for mirthful times, a few experts practising the hornpipe, while cotillions were coming in.

These were the more refined modes of diversion. Jolly parties, hot suppers, and great dinners at the taverns, card parties and shooting matches, occupied those whose taste was less nice.[5] Gin sling and old Jamaica rum, with pipes and tobacco, made the atmosphere lively in the inns, coffee-houses, or other gathering places. Racy talk and practical jokes stirred a willing audience, and the horse laugh was easy for people who had few resources in entertainment.

The curious custom of "bundling," which accorded little with the New England character, lingered among the lower orders of people. Burnaby[6] commented upon it, and Anbury[7] described it as prevailing in western Massachusetts as late as 1777. He said it was "in some measure abolished along the sea coast;" yet there a similar habit termed "tarrying" was still in vogue.

While the American Union was forming itself, some of the worst symptoms of social and political dissolution were manifesting themselves. In this chapter I have stated

[1] Felt, *Salem*, ii. 33.

[2] *Newport Hist. Mag.*, iv. 99; Felt, *Salem*, i. 456.

[3] Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 541; and Diary Rochambeau's aid, *Mag. Am. Hist.*, iv. 214.

[4] Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 677.

[5] Caulkins, *New London*, p. 581.

[6] *Travels in N. A.*, p. 145.

[7] *Travels*, ii. 41, 95.

some of the causes of disintegration at work in the new states. Of necessity, these causes were largely economic, and they prevailed in New England especially, as is revealed in the incident of Shays' rebellion. In the final rendering, all history is one. The greatest revelation rendered to all subsequent generations by these opening years of the American Republic is in the constant proof they exhibit, of the prevailing power of the people for self-government. Civil government exists in institutions. But these institutions find their sure and abiding foundation, not in ranks or orders of society, not in property or privilege, not in king, lords, or commons, not in army, senate, or priesthood, but in the fibre of the people themselves. Much passion of praise or of denunciation is devoted in our day to democracy. The principle here treated lies deeper than either aristocracy or democracy.[1] It is in the relation of each individual man and woman to the essential principles of society, of order itself. Napoleon's private soldier may or may not have carried the fictitious baton of a marshal in his knapsack; the American citizen always carries his own political privilege.

Society brings order out of revolutionary chaos.

We can comprehend these things better, perhaps, if we study them in places where they are absent. Foreigners open to us some of the best avenues of insight into our own virtues and defects. From the nature of the case, they usually fail in that insight itself, which ought to be easy to the native. An enlightened writer has lately made a study of the New England colonies. After descanting much upon the limitations of the

A foreigner's view.

[1] The institutions of New England were democratic in form, bnt aristocratic in the substance of their administration. Dr. Jameson has proven quite recently that the number of voters in Revolutionary times was very small. "From 1780 to 1789 inclusive, we have estimated that 16 per cent. of the inhabitants of Massachusetts were qualified to vote. The number of those who actually did vote in those ten years amounted to just about three per cent." *New Eng. Mag.*, January, 1890, p. 488.

New England Puritan, the subjugation of his individual nature, the monotony of his life and character, Mr. Doyle[1] says: "To us (*i. e.* Englishmen) the state is an aggregate of classes, each in a measure with its own needs, its own conception of life, its own moral standard. Behind this there may be the sense of state unity, resting on historical associations and on certain broad common interests; but it is only in supreme moments of the nation's career that this comes forth. With the New Englander of the first generation, as with the Greek, the sense of corporate life was ever present."

This shows clearly the strength and the limitations of England and the English. A state founded on classes lacks homogeneity, but our business with Mr. Doyle's statement is in its application to New England. It is singular that Europeans have almost always failed to get at the passion for state unity that exists in the very nature of the American people. Every crisis in our history has brought this to light. Daniel Webster was a man greater than his time. His faults were not those of petty ambition. The jarring wrongs of the slave could not turn him from the great harmonies in the music of the Union. It was local love of state, as well as the passions engendered by slavery, that fed the flame of Confederate insurrection and the beguiling dream of distorted unity in 1861.

American passion for unity.

It is true that state unity could not be fully comprehended in the Revolutionary period, before there was any state. The germ was there. The New Englanders made many pathetic appeals to be treated as children and partners, not as colonial offshoots of England. This for one hundred years before the Revolution; loyalty to the crown was a precious inheritance. When the new state was in the agony of its gestation, it is no disparagement to the Revolutionary agitators that they did not know just

[1] *Eng. Cols. in Amer.*, ii. 96.

what they were doing. Samuel Adams fiercely comprehended the collective power of New England for destruction; he had scant conception of the building of a state. John Adams, the best-instructed statesman of them all, looked upon any one outside dear New England as the Greek regarded the barbarian. It was reserved for the sagacity of Hamilton — an alien genius, a rare creation independent of race or time — to see through to the end, to behold the possibilities of an empire.

But the man of the time, the concrete actual personification of these godlike faculties, inchoate and dimly perceived in common men, was George Washington. He — a king in substance and dignity — was nearest to the people in the working of his spirit. Patriotism is too large a motive for common and daily life. If the state were everywhere and always active, we should have no citizens, but puppets. The court of Washington never equalled his punctilious and formal expectation, but the king went into the very hearts of those he ruled. He embodied those virtues of patience, endurance, economy, and self-denial, that good sense culminating in unerring judgment, which the people can comprehend and can hold. It is by no accident that the Father of his Country has become the sufficient model and forming image of the citizen.

Washington the head of the people.

State unity is the historical theme of themes; we might well set forth the pages of another volume if this divine principle in the affairs of men should thereby receive further illustration and explication.

State unity in New England history.

The idea of the Pilgrims, transplanted to this continent, was inoculated and enlarged by the greater impelling power of the Puritans. The Pilgrim was greater in the home; the Puritan was greater in the state. Robinson and Bradford well may be studied as house fathers, —

men of the family, — while Winthrop and Hooker were essentially men of the state ; citizens succeeding to a political system developed from a union of homes. When the state enlarges its functions in a simple society, the inevitable effect of its first crude efforts will result in annoyance, perhaps oppression, to some of its members, its individual householders, and incipient citizens. This manifestation of the state found its martyrs in the persons of Williams, Coddington, and the company exiled to Providence and the Narragansett shores. It was a small political movement, estimated in numbers or extent of territory, but it engendered consequences which reached beyond its district, and far beyond the actual consciousness of the heroes and martyrs who made it possible. Roger Williams's conception of a state exercising its political force " only in civil things " was a direct spark from the eternal fire of genius.

This was the heroic side of state development as embodied in Bradford, Winthrop, Hooker, and Williams.

Embodied in a community.

Had New England produced nothing more, her history would be an account of sporadic exploits, like numerous episodes in all the experience of the world. These large individuals were only representatives of the people behind them. This people organised itself into a community, a something moving in individuals and families, a concrete society, preparatory and anterior to the mere town which is subject to limitations of place. An aristocracy of aristocracies — bred out of the best moral fibre of the English race — was creating town government in the form of a democracy. Not that New England had all the best people or made the only good system, but these particular political and social institutions found their highest manifestation here.

The people of these communities moved to their work animated by a wonderful impulse for association. While they moved by instinct and intuition rather than with con-

scious purpose toward stable political development, there was yet a motive behind these religious and political forces. This motive force was in the desire to live; an economic, working necessity acting in their organic life, and which controlled the forms of their political and social existence. Wherever and whenever we pierce below the surface of our early institutions, we find this economic principle at work, moulding these institutions anew to fit them into the forms of the new circumstances. Republican democracy was forged out in this process. This was neither aristocracy nor democracy according to the old rules, it was a practical system in the form of democracy, using such accumulated aristocratic culture as was to be had, and bending it rigidly to its own ends.

Impelled by economic force.

Our whole early development partakes of these principles, moves onward in this stream through prescribed channels. The great imaginary American Puritan state, inspired from England and projected from English experience, broke down utterly about the year 1640. Then the man of the new world, an organised citizen, began to create new organs for industrial and commercial progress. The gold sovereign, the money of England, failed to control the deranged affairs, and to lead prosperity out of the abundant resources of the country. Men trained to work together in building up homes and communities now turned their hands to building vessels. They gave and took labor and supplies in a round of current industry where no currency was to be had. Without money, they converted "Country Pay" into a satisfaction of the legitimate wants of the country.

The buoyant life of a new land, upspringing through the efforts of orderly men and women, freed from many of the functions of order then decaying in older nations, carried these vessels by an impulse of its own into the marts of the world. Our poor soil yielded little, but enough to furnish forth the hardy

New commerce in a new country.

fishermen who should bring in the abounding yield from prolific seas. The superstitious fasts of the Old World created wants that were most easily supplied from the New. The Catholics of Southern Europe, the West Indian negroes, were fed by the same restless and energetic Protestants. The English Navigation Acts, strengthened by Charles II., could hardly affect this commercial movement, so natural, so fitted to the time; could not impede this succession of vessels laden with necessary cargoes, produced and husbanded by one of the most thrifty peoples in history. The loosely administered Acts only fretted the people into more vigorous activity. The years following their reënactment were among the most enterprising of our whole experience. Shipyards sprang up, new ports of entry were opened, commerce extended through the increase created out of itself; this was actual free trade in essence, though unfree in form.

The New England men.

The second generation, the "New England men," so often and fondly noted by Judge Sewall, were now acting the parts of the incoming drama, and filling the new stage which the closing years of the seventeenth century open to our view. A generation had passed off from the colonial stage. The great men, founders, heroes, — of genius proportioned to their opportunity, — were gone. The makers of home and community were followed by keepers, who should safely bind and safely find the goods attained through peril, acquired by courage and strength. Careful and thrifty, they fortified the ground, and economised the possessions which their fathers had occupied. Perhaps, if they had been of larger mould, they might have attracted too much notice from kings and ministers, who knew not the business of governing colonies, simply because that science had never been discovered. The great Louis smothered his colonies by too much care; England helped the growth of hers by a step-motherly neglect. Out of the accidents of the time,

rather than from forecast or inventive statecraft, did the American colonies get their opportunity for expansion.

The people passed through varied experiences on their way and in their growth into the full life of a state. "Country Pay" could afford the means of securing prosperity and comfort to simple people; it could not furnish support to the great enterprises of state, nor administer the business of wealth. The French — and Indians impelled by the French — hampered and harassed, while they threatened even more, the expanding life of our New England colonies. The public exigency required more capital and better currency; it resorted to issues of paper money in the hope of creating a new circulating medium. An interesting portion of economic history lies in the facts of these issues of paper, as they were evolved from the dire necessities of the country. These movements were not mere caprices and freaks of the popular will. The statesmen of those days were not departing from an assured road and certain way in finance. They travelled in an unknown country, tugging at a load they could not weigh or comprehend, and blundering through paths untried in all previous experience.

Crude finance.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century our commerce extended and greatly widened its scope. Merchants like Peter Faneuil succeeded to the careful trader like John Hull. Capital accumulated, and luxury, satisfying its cravings with the produce of many countries, succeeded to the generous but plain comforts of the second generation. The distilling of rum and bartering it for negroes became an enormous commercial industry. We must remember that, while foreign commerce left the most shining marks and received the highest rewards in the convertible forms of wealth, the industry of the homesteads, the patient work of farmers, in company with their wives, sons, and daughters, was the actual basis and primary impulse of this brilliant trade across

Homestead industries.

the seas. Ships were built by a home exchange of labor. Their cargoes of fish came through the toiling efforts of men supported by the excellent economy of the homefolk. Moreover, the coasting trade, surrounding and interpenetrating the older districts, forwarded the constant exchanges which made all this industrial movement possible.

The Sugar Acts, before and after they were strengthened by the action of the home government, affected the practical course of our commerce much more than it had been influenced by the Navigation Acts. The whole commercial atmosphere of the colonies was surcharged with illicit trade in one or another form. Generations had grown up in the practice of a virtual free trade, when Grenville came to apply his stricter theories and his impracticable notions of taxation. These ministerial experiments, being backed by new assertions of the royal prerogative, provoked and incensed a people who were affectionate and loyal, yet grudgingly obedient to the substance of authority. Perhaps the poor king has received too much obloquy in the discussions of these stirring events and these troublous times. There were deeper causes of alienation of the colonists than those lying in the character or the positive action of the king. It is very doubtful whether the colonists would or could have developed into good subjects under the prevailing political conditions. It is absolutely certain that they never would have accepted the contemptuous inferiority tendered them by the average British Islander, and which he expected them to gratefully accept. Consider their condition. Wealth had accumulated, had given the growing citizens greater opportunities, widening their mental horizon, as well as increasing their facilities of life. Enterprise, conduct of large affairs, high public spirit, had entered into their dependent life, and was fitting them for even better political deeds. They had taken Louisburg, and had assisted in taking Quebec. Their

Taxation and British arrogance.

success, their steady expansion, had unfitted them, had rendered them unable to bear the touch of any English official coming among them with airs of lofty superiority. The downrightness of British pride in the eighteenth century — as England was moving into the front rank of nations — perhaps put forth its worst expression in its contact with colonial-bred subjects. The supercilious ways of civil and military officers in their colonial administration — an administration which generally manifested incompetence or mediocrity — irritated and inflamed the colonists far more than any direct assertion of British power. Men who were subduing a continent could ill brook the assumed superiority or petty insolence of martinets and perfunctory formalists.

The second quarter, roughly taken, or the middle period of the eighteenth century, has not been so much regarded in the development of our independence as the years after the Writs of Assistance and the time of the Stamp Acts. Yet it was a fertilising and gestating time. Two men as unlike as the two poles contributed largely to the ideas which formed this time, — to the putting away of dependence, to the faint beginning of independence. Jonathan Edwards, a prophet who hardly touched politics, a seer seeking the inmost recesses of the human soul, taught that each individual man should bow to the immediate and absolute sovereignty of God. He built better than he knew; there was no place for another sovereign in that inner chamber of the soul. Benjamin Franklin, not yet the natural philosopher or commanding statesman, was a great master of affairs in early life. He published "Poor Richard" in our period of gestation, as I have termed it. The close and painstaking economy of this treatise was only excelled by its subjection of the individual self to a higher law of prudence and sacrifice. It was a practical expression of the utilitarian philosophy, and it exercised a tremendous influence. Without Ed-

The gestating time.

wards's finer penetrating power, it might have contracted the citizen too much; acting together, the two influences were invincible. The soul aspiring to closer union with God planted its earthly parts on the firm ground of Poor Richard's common sense.

Large political issues.

Much political heat has been engendered by patriotic or loyal discussion about the Stamp Acts. Tremendous forces have been wasted in charges or recrimination concerning the political doings of this or that official, concerning the popular movement here or there, as if these items controlled the final account. In themselves, these discussions seem trifling to the mind of our time; they have helped to bring out or preserve interesting facts, and they have accomplished little more. Whether Grenville, North, or the Third George was wise or foolish; whether the rising colonists, soon to be freemen, moved aright or mistook their course in a particular incident — all these incidents were virtual accidents in the great political drama. Institutions directed the evolution of this drama; it was not controlled by the accidental interposition of individuals at critical points in the action, whether these individuals were narrow as Grenville, or large-minded as Burke. The polity proceeding from Burke's theories was hardly more adequate than the administration of Grenville, to the American crisis In America, representative government was working out new problems through free citizens growing into large political agents, and through institutions that had been gradually dropping the constraints of feudalism. Government by the people was getting itself done by such agents as the people could put to the work. Institutions under which the people had truly loved the office of a king had suddenly proven their elastic capacity by maintaining the wars and furnishing the civic administration of a central government soon to evolve itself into an independent government.

Freed representative government.

I have attempted to show that these institutions were enfolded in the families, and in the strong, individual men and women, transplanted here in the seventeenth century; and these institutions were not simply domestic, religious, or political in their essential character. There were imbedded in all the ways of living among these New Englanders certain tendencies which can only be classed as economic, and which affected the action of these people as they came to organise a church or to settle a town. Fortunately or unfortunately, both the neglect and the occasional administrative interference of England touched and affected these people in their economic bent and inclination. These were not merely questions of pence, shillings, or dollars, nor manifestations of the love of money: the whole business of living was disturbed and deranged whenever parliamentary taxes and royal administration were brought across the intervening seas. It mattered little whether a tax was in pence or shillings, or whether the collector might come from parliament or king. Neither in England nor in America, then, were there representative organs and an organism to unite in regular movement the life of the citizen subject with the rule and direction of the moderate king. I would not make overmuch of economy, yet it is the basis of life; it moulds peoples, it builds or it destroys states. It was the firm resistance of orderly citizens to the Stamp Acts and similar measures which won the magnificent rights of freedom that developed into the splendid power of the United States of America.

An economic evolution.

APPENDIX A.

TABLE OF PRICES.

1630.

Wages.

Master mechanics, 16*d.* to 24*d.* per day and board.
Common mechanics, 12*d.* per day and board.
Laborers, 6*d.* to 12*d.* per day and board.
Sawyers, 4*s.* 6*d.* per 100 of 6 score.

Beaver.

Fixed at 6*s.* per lb., then freed.
10*s.* to 20*s.* per lb.

Freight from England.

20*s.* to 60*s.* per ton.
Ditto. insured, £5 per ton.
Adult passenger, £5.
Horse, £10.

1631.

Corn, 10*s.*–11*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 14*s.* per bu.
Oxen, £40 yoke.
Cows, £25.

1632.

Wages, capt. pinnace, 1 mo., £2.
Corn, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.

1633.

Wages and Values.

Master mechanics, 24*d.* per day without board.
Master mechanics, 14*d.* per day with board.
Mowers, 24*d.* per day without board.
Best laborers, 18*d.* per day without board.
Best laborers, 8*d.* per day with board.
Inferior laborers, fixed by constables.
Master tailors, 12*d.* per day with board.
Inferior tailors, 8*d.* with board.
1 meal at inn, 6*d.*
1 quart beer at inn, 1*d.*
1 lb. butter, 6*d.*
1 lb. cheese, 5*d.*
Alewives, 5*s.* per M.
Corn, 6*s.* per bu.

4 eggs, 1*d*.
Quart milk, 1*d*.
Butter, 6*d*. per lb.
Cheshire cheese, 5*d*. per lb.

Beaver.

2¼ lbs. = 1 fath. blk. wampum.
1 lb. = 8 lbs. tobacco.
½ lb. = 2 bu. salt.
1 lb. = 2 bu. corn.
3¼ lbs = "one c." (codfish.)
5 lbs. = 200 "of dri fish."

9 lbs. = 20 gall. aq. vitæ at 4*s*. 6*d*.
½ lb. = 5½ lbs. sugar.
3 lbs. = 8 gall. "sack."
1½ lbs. = 2 gall. oil.
2 lbs. = 2½ gall. "aquay."
2 lbs. = 3 bu. corn.
1½ lbs. = 21½ lbs. butter.
¾ lbs. = 8½ lbs. soap.
7 lbs. = 1½ hhd. malt.
2 lbs. = 2 jars oil.
4½ lbs. = 14 bu. rice.
5 lbs. = 9 bu. corn.

1634.

Corn, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Coat beaver in England, 20*s*. lb.
Some above, 14*s*. to 16*s*. per skin.
Otter in England, 14*s*. to 15*s*. per lb.
1*d*. quarte of beer.

1635.

Musket bullets, farth. apiece up to 12*d*.
Indian corn, 6*s*. per bu.
Corn, Conn. Riv. 12*s*. per bu.,
Beaver, 5*s*. per lb.
27 Flan. mares at £34 the mare.
63 heifers at £12.
88 sheep at 50*s*.
5*s*. a head for keeping cattle.

1636.

39¾ y. tanny shagg.
38 y. murry shagg.
38 y. liver culler shagg.
34 y. of tanny : plaine wool.
38½ y. liver culler shagg.
37¾ y. murry shagg.
225 y. at 8*s*. = 90 li.
Alewives, 5*s*. for 1,000.
Coat beaver, 20*s*. per lb., some 24*s*.
Skin beaver, 15*s*. per lb., sometimes 16*s*.
Bermuda potatoes, 2*d*. per lb.
School, £40 per year.

1637.

Butter, 7*d*. per lb.
Cheese, 7*d*. per lb.
Sack, 6*s*. per gall.
Irish beef, 50*s*. per ton.
Irish rugs, 14*s*.
Indian corn, 5*s*. 6*d*. bu. in money.
" " 9*s*. per lb. in beaver.
Corn, 5*s*. per bu.

1638.

Dwelling h. and garden in Boston, £28 stg.
House and lot in Cam., 6 ac. arable land and 5 ac. meadow, £10.
Corn, 5*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Oxen, £25 per head.
Wharf, crane, warehouses, 100 acres of land, and a dock in Boston, £170.

1639.

Ferry Boat Cape Ann.

Strangers, 2*d.* apiece.
Town dwellers, 1*d.*
Horses and great beasts, 6*d.*
Goats, calves, swine, 2*d.*

Worsted stockings, 6*s.* 8*d.*
Hard sealing wax, 3*d.*
1 pair stockings, 20*d.*
1,000 pipe-staves, £18 per M.
½ Prudence Island, £50.
Schoolmaster's salary, £20.

Wages.

Carpenters for 9 mos., 2*s.* 6*d.* per day; for 3 mos. from November 1st to Feb. 1st, 2*s.* per day.
Mowers, 2*s.* 6*d.* per day.
Sawyers, 6*s.* 6*d.* per c. feet.
Husbandry or ordinary labor, 2*s.* per day for 9 mos; for 3 mos. from November 10 to February 10, 18*d.* per day.
Blacksmith's apprentice for 9 yrs. £12, double apparel and 5*l.*

1640.

Brandy, hhd. cost £7, retailed £33.
Powder, cost 20*d.*, sold 3*s.*
Summer wheat 7*s.*, per bu.; Rye 6*s.* per bu.
Barley 5*s.* per bu.; Corn 4*s.* per bu.
Peas, 6*s.* per bu.
Hemp and flaxseed, 12*s.*
Corn in payment new debts: Ind., 4*s.*, Rye, 5*s.*, Wheat, 6*s.* per bu.
Beaver, 8*s.* per lb.
Shot, 4*d.* per lb.; paid in beaver at 6*s.* the pd.
Cattle, 18 li. per head; some 18.15*s.* and 20 li.
An estate worth, 3 mos. before, £1,000, fallen to £200.
White wampum, 4 a penny.
Blue wampum, 2 a penny.
1 pair gray stockings, 2*s.*
Brandy, 6*s.* 8*d.* per gal.
Legal interest, 8 per cent.

1641.

Wages and Values.

Common laborer, 1*s.* 6*d.* per day.
Mowing, 2*s.* per day.
Carpenters, 10*d.* to work 8 hours.
Wheelwrights lowered 3*d.* in shil.
From September to March, workmen, 1*s.* 4*d.* per day; from March to September, 1*s.* 8d., except mowing, 2*s.*
A man, 4 oxen and cart, per day, 5*s.*–6*s.*
Price of cow fell in 1 month from £20 to £5.
Price of goat fell in 1 month from £3 to 10*s.*
In payment of debts: old Indian corn, 3*s.* the bu.; new Indian corn, 2*s.* 6*d.* the bu.; English wheat, 4*s.* the bu.
Clapboards, 5 ft., 3*s.* per hundred.
Sawn boards, 5*s.* per hundred.
Slit work, 4*s.* 6*d.* per hundred.
Hhd. mack., £3 12*s.*
400 pair sea-horse teeth = £300.
Gristmill, £74 10*s.*
Bark, 50t., £200.

1642.

1 warming pan, 5*s*. 6*d*.
1 pair andirons, 10*s*.
2 Holland sheets, 9*s*.
1 pair spectacles, 2*s*.
4 pigs, £1 13*s*.
13 bus. Indian corn, £2 5*s*.
1 cow and yearling, £5 10*s*.

Holland ducat, 3 guil. = 6*s*.
Rixdollar = 2½ guil. = 5*s*.
Ryall, 8 guil. = 5*s*.
Span. broadcloth, 17*s*. per yard.
Wheat and barley, 4*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 3*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.

1643.

Meal, 14*s*. per bu.
Peas, 11*s*. per bu.
Beans, 16*s*. per bu.

Indian corn, 2*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Bricks, 11*s*. per M.

1644.

For common work, each laborer, from November 1st to February 1st, 18*d*. per day; for rest of year, 20*d*. per day.
For work of 4 oxen and a man per day, 4*s*. 6*d*.
For work of 6 oxen and a man per day, 7*s*.
For work of 8 oxen and a man per day, 8*s*.
Man's washing and diet for 1 year, £9 beside bedding.

Goldsmith's apprentice for 12 years, meat, drink, apparel and £3 at end of term.
3 lbs. bacon, 6*d*.
1 lb. tobacco, 18*d*.
2 oz. ginger, 3*d*.
1 li. sugar, 20*d*.
Wolf's head = 10*s*.
Doe = 2 fath. wampum.
Fawn, 1 year old = 1 fath. wampum.

1645.

Silk quilt, 26*s*.
1 little Turkey carpet, 26*s*.
Ladder of 21 rounds, 2*s*.
Horse, £10.
Wheat, 4*s*. per bu.

Rye and peas, 3*s*. 4*d*.–3*s*. 6*d*. bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 8*d*.–3*s*. 6*d*. bu.
Wheat and barley, 4*s*. per bu.
Venison, 2–2½*d*. per lb.
Codfish, £1 per quintal.

1646.

Mill, £75.
1 cow, £4.
1 ox, £7.
1 old scythe, 1*s*.
1 plough, 6*s*.
Harrow, 10*s*.
Axe, 2*s*. 6*d*.
30 bu. Eng. wheat, £6.

Plank table, 10*s*.
Pair moose gloves, 2*s*. 6*d*.
Alewives, 2*s*. per M.
Cow, £5.
Cattle, 3–4 years, £3.
Sheep, 10*s*.
Yearling swine, 20*s*.
Schooling, 4*s*. per quarter.

1647.

1 chest drawers, £2.
1 quilt, £1 6*s*.
1 trunk, 4*s*.
1 cow, £5.
Indian corn, 6*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 8*s*. per bu.

1648.

Indian corn, 3*s*.–4*s*. per bu.
House, £8.
500 apple trees = 250 ac. land.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Barley, 5*s*. per bu.
Corn, 3*s*. per bu.

1649.

Peas and rye, 4s. per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s*.–4*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*.–8*s*. per bu.
Corn, 6*s*. per bu.
Barley, 5*s*. 6*d*. per bu.

1650.

Cow, £5.
Negro maid, £25.
2 servants, £20.
Cider, 1*s*. 8*d*. per gal., £4 4*s*. per hhd.
Apples, 6*s*–8*s*. per bu.
½ bu. quinces, 4*s*.
Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Wheat and barley, 5*s*. per bu.

1651.

White sugar, £10 per barrel.
Rug, £1 5*s*.
Wheat and barley, 5*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Peas, 3*s*. 8*d*. per bu.
Schoolmaster's salary, £30 per annum.

1652.

Onions, 5*s*. per bu.
Salt, 2*s*. per bu.
1 hhd. ginger, £5.
1 cwt. sugar, £3.
Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Wheat and barley, 5*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.

1653.

Brandy, 12*s*. per gal.
Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Peas and rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Corn, 5*s*. per bu.
Cast iron, £6 per ton.
10 of bar iron, £10.
Sack, 6*s*. per gal.
White wine, 18*s*. per gal.
Strong water, 3*s*. per quart.
Sugar, 7*d*. per lb.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Pork, 4*d*. per lb.
Venison, 1*s*. 6*d*. per lb.

Warming pan, 5*s*.
Bedstead, 5*s*.
Hat, 5*s*.
Pillow, 3*s*.
Spinning-wheel, 2*s*.
Apples, 2*s*. 6*d*.–3*s*. per bu.
Cider, 1*s*. 4*d*. per gal., or £1 10*s*. per bbl.

Conn.

Wheat, 4*s*. per bu.
Corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Peas 3*s*. per bu.

1654.

Rehoboth.

Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye, 7*s*. per bu.

2 quires paper, 1*s*.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Barley, 5*s*. per bu.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Pork, 4*d*. per lb.

1655.

Brandy, 3*s*.–4*s*. per gal.
Sweet oil, 8*s*. per gal.
Flanders grass seed, 4*s*. and 5*s*. per lb.
Powder, £4 per bbl.
Wheat, 4*s*.–5*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.

Barley, 4*s*., 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Beef, 2*d*.–3*d*. per lb.
Pork, 3*d*.–4*d*. per lb.
Musket, 10*s*.
Horse, £10.

1656.

Broadcloth, 12*s*. or 15*s* per yard.

Sturgeon, 10*s*. a keg.

1657.

Negro boy, £20.
Cow, £3.
Horse, £10.
Ox, £5.

Swine, 20*s*.
Barley and barley malt, 4*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 3*s*. per bu.

1658.

Wheat and barley, 5*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.

Indian corn, 8*s*. per bu.

1659.

Meal, £1 10*s*. per bbl.
White starch, £4 per bbl.
Hhd. of rum, £12 12*s*.

Cotton, 1*s*.–1*s*. 6*d*. per lb.
Interest, 6 per cent.

1660.

Wheat, 4*s*.–5*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*.–3*s*. per bu.
Barley and barley malt, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Peas and rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Shingles, 18 in., 20*s*. per M.

Shingles, 3 ft., 35*s*. to 40*s*. per M.
Cord of wood, 1*s*.
Hhd. sugar, £6 10*s*.
Oatmeal, £1 5*s*. per bbl.
Powder, 7*s*. 6*d*. per bbl.

1661.

Tobacco, £2 per bbl.
Mare, £14.
Yoke of oxen, £14.
Yoke of steers, £10.

1662.

Cord of oak wood, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Bushel of turnips, 1*s.* 6*d.*
1 lb. hides = 10 lbs. old iron.
Kersey, 10*s.* per yard.
Sheep, 10*s.*–23*s.*
Peas and rye, 4*s.* per bu.
Wheat and barley, 3*s.* per bu.
Barley malt, 5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.

1663.

Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.*–5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Barley and barley malt, 5*s.* per bu.
Salt, 3*s.* per bu.
Otter skin = 10*s.*
Firkin of butter, £1 10*s.*

1664.

Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Pease, 3*s.* 6*d.*–4*s.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* per bu.
Barley, 5*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.*–5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Pork, £3 10*s.* per bbl.
Masts, 33 to 35 in. diam., £95 to £115 per mast.

1665.

Cow, £4.
Horse 4 years old, £10.

1666.

Wages.
Mowing, 2*s.* 2*d.* per day.
Common labor, 2*s.* per day, £10 per annum.
Women's labor, £4–£5 per an.

Indian corn, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Apples and turnips, 1*s.* per bu.
Candy, 6*s.* per lb.
Common powder, £6 per bbl.
Musket powder, £7 per bbl.

1667.

Corn, 3*s.*–2*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.* per bu.
Peas, 2*s.* 8*d.*–3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* per bu.
Barley and malt, 4*s.*–4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Pork, 3*d.* per lb.
Butter, 6*d.* per lb.
Horse, £8.
Cow, £4.
Negro, £26.
Sawn boards, 4*s.* 6*d.* per M.

1668.

Corn, 3*s*.–3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Rye, 3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley, 4*s*. per bu.
Peas, 3*s*. per bu.
Horse, £5.
Gun, 3*s*.

1669.

Claret, £1 10*s*. per bbl.
Cider, 10*s*. per bbl.
Butter, £1 5*s*. per firkin.
Wood, 3*s*. 6*d*. per cord.

1670.

Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Pease, 3*s*. 6*d*.–4*s*. per bu.
Corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Oats, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley malt, 4*s*. per bu.
Butter, 6*d*. per lb.
Pork, 3*d*. per lb.
Wool, 12*d*. per lb.
Beef, £1 10*s*. per bbl.
Tierce vinegar, £1 10*s*.
Hhd. rum, £7.
Beer, 1½*d*. per quart.

1671.

Ox, £3.
Cow, £2 5*s*.
Sheep, 3*s*.
3-year-old horse, £2.
Wool, 12*d*. per lb.
Rosin, 15*s*. per cwt.
Rum, 5*s*. gal. ; 2*d*. gill.

1672.

Wages.

Common workmen, September to March, 1*s*. 3*d*. per day.
Common workmen, March to June, 1*s*. 8*d*. per day.
Common workmen, June to September, 2*s*. per day.
Carpenters, masons, and stone-layers, March to October 10th, 2*s*. per day.
Beaver, 10*s*. per lb.

1673.

Linen, 2*s*. 6*d*. per yard.
Rum, 6*s*. to 6*s*. 8*d*. per gal.
Barley and barley malt, 4*s*.
Indian corn and peas, 3*s*.
Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.

1674.

Wheat, 4*s*. per bu.
Peas, 3*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Pork, £3 per bbl.
Sugar, £2 10*s*. per bbl.
Sturgeon, 10*s*. to 12*s*. per keg.

1675.

Wheat, 5*s*.-6*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s*.–3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Oats, 2*s*. per bu.
Beef, 40*s*. per bbl.
Sawing planks, 8*s*. per M.

1676.

Barley, malt, rye, and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Oats, 2*s*. per bu.
Winter wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Summer wheat, 4*s*. per bu.
White peas, 3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*.–3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Turnips, 1*s*. per bu.
Pork, £3 10*s*. per bbl.
Beef, 40*s*. per bbl.
Butter, 6*d*. per lb.
Hemp, 6*d*. per lb.
Hides, 6*d*. per lb.

1677.

Wages.

Mowing, 2*s*. 2*d*. per day.
Men's, £10 per annum.
Women's, £4 to £5 per annum.
Labor, 2*s*. per day.

Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Apples and turnips, 1*s*. per bu.

Malt, 3*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Pork, £3 10*s*. per bbl.
Oats, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Peas, barley, and barley malt, 4*s*. per bu.
Horse, £3.
Hog, £1 10*s*.

1678.

Indian corn, 2*s*. per bu.
Peas, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley, 2*s*. per bu.
Barley malt, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Pork, 2*d*. per lb.

Beef, 12*s*. per cwt.
Butter, 5*d*. per lb.
Wool, 6*d*. per lb.
Needles, 10*s*. per M.
Slaves, £30 to £35.

1679.

Shingles, 10*s*. per hundred.
Clapboards and boards, 5*s*. per hundred.

Tobacco, 6*d*. per lb.
Cider, 10*s*. per bbl.

1680.

Stamford.

Winter wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Summer wheat, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*.-3*s*. per bu.
Pork, 3¼*d*. per lb.

New Hampshire.

Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Malt, 4*s*. per bu.
Rye and peas, 4*s*. per bu.
Barley, 4*s*. per bu.
Oats, 1*s*. 8*d*.–2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.

1681.

Madeira wine, £11 per butt.

1682.

Rye, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Barley, 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Barley malt, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.

1683.

Canary wine, £12 per pipe.
Sherry wine, £18 per butt.
Negro, £20.
Ox, £3.
Cows, 40*s.*
Swine, 10*s.*
Barley and barley malt, 4*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.

1684.

Beef, 2*d.* per lb.
Pork, 3*d.* per lb.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.* per bu
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Malt, 3*s.* per bu.
Hayseed, 3*s.* per lb.
Sawmill, £100.

1685.

Butter, 9*d.* per lb.
Tobacco, 5*d.* per lb.
Whalebone, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Beef, 1½*d.* per lb.
Pork, 2½*d.* per lb.
Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.* 6*d.*–3*s.* per bu.
Barley and barley malt, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Red oak staves, 16*s.* per M.
Boards, 18*s.* per M.

1686.

Barque 20 tons, £40.
Shoeing horse, 12*d.*
Wheat, 5*s.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Barley, 3*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Pork, 3*d.* per lb.
Beef, 2*d.* per lb.
Pine boards, 20*s.* per M.

1687.

Wheat, 4*s.* per bu.
Barley, 3*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 6*d.*–3*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 1*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Butter, 4*d.* per lb.
Wool, 8*d.* per lb.
Cotton wool, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Whalebone, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Powder, 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb.
Rum, 1*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Cow, £2 5*s.*
Razor, £1.

1688.

White oak bbl. staves, 15*s.* per M.
Red oak hhd. staves, 15*s.* per M.
Crosscut saw, 3*s.* 6*d.*
Horse, £6.
Steer, £2.
Paper, 8*s.* per ream.

1689.

Dozen silver spoons, £5 13*s.* 3*d.*

1690.

Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.*–3*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Barley and barley malt, 4*s.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Oats, 18*d.* per bu.
Butter, 4*d.* per lb.
Pork, £1 18*s.*–£3 per bbl.
Beef, 36*s.* per bbl.
Wool, 7½*d.* per lb.
Codfish, £5 per hhd.
Musket, £1 15*s.*

1691.

Powder, £2 5*s.* per bbl.
Clapboards, 3*s.* per M.
Cow, £3.

1692.

Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 5*s.*–8. per bu.
Malt, 3*s.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Pork, £3–£3 15*s.* per bbl.
Rum, 2*s.* per gal.
Sugar, £12 per hhd.
Salt, £2 10*s.* per hhd.
Tobacco, 2½*d.* per lb.
Beef, 2*d.* per lb.
Wool, 8*d.* per lb.
Cow, £2.
Sheep, 5*s.*–6*s.*
Swine, 12*s.*
Pine boards, 36*s.* per M.

1693.

Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Peas, 2*s.* per bu.
Corn, 1*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Molasses, 1*s.* 2*d.* per gal.
Salt, £1 per hhd.
Otter skin, 10*s.*
Mouse-trap, 3*d.*

1694.

Seamen's Wages.

Master, £6 per month.
Mate, £4 10*s.* per month.
Seaman, £3–£3 15*s.* per month.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* per bu.
Beef, £2 per bbl.
Sugar, 3½ per lb.
Barrel staves, £1 10 per M.
Cow, £2 5*s.*

1695.

Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Butter, 4*d.* per lb.
Wool, 7½*d.* per lb.
Pork, £1 18*s.* per bbl.
Fish, 15*s.* per quintal.
Pine boards, 3*s.* per hundred.

1696.

Ullage of beer, £1 10*s.*
Cask of sugar, £11.
Barrel of gunpowder, 9*s.*
Negro man, £40.
Negro boy, £20.

1697.

Tobacco, £8 9*s.* 6*d.* per hhd.
Sugar, £11 14*s.* 6*d.* per hhd.
Salt, 25*s.* per hhd.
Flour, £3 7*s.* 4½*d.* per bbl.
Red oak hhd. staves, 15*s* per M.
Pine boards, 25*s* per M.
White oak pipe, 45*s.* per M.
Codfish, 11*s.* per quintal.
Molasses, 1*s.* 2*d.* per gal.
Rum, 2*s.* 8*d.* per gal.

1698.

Winter wheat, 4*s.* per bu.
Summer wheat, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 3*s.*–3*d.* 6*d.* per bu.
Peas and barley, 3*s.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Piece muslin, £5 10*s.*
Piece damask, £2 7*s.*
Pipe best wine, £9.
Musket, £1 5*s.*

1699.

Wheat, 5*s.* per bu.
Corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 6*d.*–3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Pork, 3*d.* per lb.
Beef, 2*d.* per lb.
Flax, 10*d.* per lb.
Hops, 6*d.* per lb.
Cider, £1 7*s.* per hhd.
Rum, £19 2*s.* 6*d.* per hhd.
Molasses, £8 10*s.* per hhd.
Holland, 3*s.* 6*d.* per yard.

1700.

Salmon, 1*d.* per lb.
Cider, 6*s.*–7*s.* per gall.
Carbine, £1.

1701.

Hemp, 4½*d.* per lb.
Wicker cradle, 16*s.*

1702.

Indian corn, 2*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 2*d.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Barley, 2*s.* per bu.

1703.

Turnips, 1*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.*–2*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Barley, 2*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 4*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 4*d.*–3*s.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 2*d.* per bu.

1704.

Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Barley, 1*s.*–1*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* per bu.
Rice, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 3*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Cotton wool, 1*s.* 10*d.* per lb.
Beef, 1¼*d.* per lb.
Pork, 2*d.* per lb.
Wool, 9*d.* per lb.
Cider, 6*s.* per bbl.
Walnut wood, 5*s.* per cord.
Oak wood, 3*s.* per cord.

1705.

Fayal wine, £10 per pipe.
Madeira wine, £18 per pipe.
Beer, £4 per pipe.
Cider, 2*s.* 8*d.* per pipe.
Brandy, 9*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Rum, 2*s.* per gal.

1706.

Wheat, 4*s.* per bu.
Turpentine, 6*s.* per 112 lbs.

1707.

Wages of Seamen.

Master, £6 per month.
Chief mate, £3 10*s.* per month.
Second mate, £2 15*s.* per month.
Gunner, carpenter, and boatswain, £1 15*s.*

Jar of oil, £5.

Soap, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bbl.
Pork, £3 15*s.* per bbl.
Beef, £2 5*s.* per bbl.
Wheat, 6*s.* per bu.
Malt, 3*s.* per bu.
Rye, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s.* per bu.
Cotton wool, 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb.

1708.

Wheat, 3*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 6d. per bu.
Turnips, 1*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Barley, 1*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 2*d.* per bu.
Wool, 9*d.* per lb.

1709.

Winter wheat, 4*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 4*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Barley, 1*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Pork, 50*s.* per bbl.
Beef, 30*s.* per bbl.
Apples, 10*s.* per bu.
Straw, 18*s.* per load.

1710.

Rye, 3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Wheat, 4*s*.–6*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*.–2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Pork, £3 15*s*.
Beef, £2 5*s*.
Molasses, 1*s*. per gal.
Silver, 8*s*. per oz.

1711.

Peas, 6*s*. per bu.
Bread, 1*s*. 7*d*.
Pork, £3 10*s*. per bbl.
Beef, £3 per bbl.
Flour, 19*s*. 6*d*. per bbl.
Butter, 7*d*. per lb.
Sturgeon, 2*d*. per lb.
Rum, 3*s*. 3*d*. per gal.

1712.

Wheat, 6*s*. per bu.
Barley, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Corn, 6*s*. per bu.
Tobacco, 6*d*. per lb.
Butter, 10*d*. per lb.
Pork, 2*d*. per lb.
Beef, 3½*d*. per lb.
Wool, 1*s*. 6*d*. per lb.
Hayseed, 2*s*. per lb.
Veal, 3*d*. per lb.
Fine lace, 14*s*. per yard.
Cord wood, 14*s*.
Quintal fish, £1 6*s*.
Cow, £3.
Horse, £2.
Ox, £4 10*s*.

1713.

Wheat, 10*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley, 4*s*. per bu.
Rye, 5*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 4*s*. per bu.
Flour and biscuit, 30*s*. per hundred.
Plain cloth, 1*s*. 3*d*. per yard.
Drugget, 12*d*. per yard.
Checkered shirting, 1*s*. 3*d*. pr. yd.

1714.

Canary wine, 3*s*. per bottle.
Madeira wine, 4*s*. 8*d*. per gal.
Capers, 2*s*. 3*d*. per lb.
Ginger ground, 5*d*. per lb.
Turnips, 5*s*. per bu.

1715.

Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Wheat, 5*s*. per bu.
Cider, 3*d*. per quart.
Beef, 50*s*. per bbl.
Silver, 12*s*. per oz.

1716.

Beef, 40*s*. per bbl.
Butter, 5*d*. per lb.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Fayal wine, £8 per pipe.
Horse, £3 6*s*.

1717.

Cinnamon, 14*s.* per lb.
Nutmegs, 20*s.* per lb.
Cloves, 20*s.* per lb.
Silver, 9*s.* per ounce.
Gold, £7 15*s.* per ounce.

1718.

Fayal wine, 2*s.* per gal.
Madeira wine, 3*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Rum, 3*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Molasses, 2*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Powder, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Wool, 18*d.* per lb.
Jamaica leather, 18*d.* per lb.
Butter, 8*d.* per lb.
Cheese, 5*d.* per lb.
Brandy, 3*s.* per pint.
Cider, 18*s.* 4*d.* per bbl.

1719.

Wheat, 7*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 4*s.* per bu.
Hay, 4*s.* per cwt.
Flour, 28*s.* per cwt.
Snuff, 25*s.* per lb.
Butter, 11*d.* per lb.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Pork, 4½*d.* per lb.
Hops, 5*d.* per lb.
Cotton wool, 2*s.* per lb.
Bohea tea, 34*s.* per lb.
N. E. rum, 5*s.* per gal.
Molasses, 2*s.* 4*d.* per gal.
French salt, 22*s.* 6*d.* per hhd.
Mackerel 40*s.* per bbl.
Bricks, 22*s.* per M.
Pine boards, 55*s.* per M.
Shingles, 14*s.* per M.
Pipe-staves, £5–£8 per M.
Red oak hhd. staves, 45*s.*–50*s.* per M.
White oak hhd. staves, 50*s.* per M.

1720.

English wheat, 7*s.* per bu.
Salt, 18*s.* per hhd.
Madeira wine, 4*s.* per gal.
Cider, 20*s.* per bbl.
Silver, 12*s.* per oz.

1721.

Flour, 8*s.* 6*d.* per c.
White bread, 15*s.* per c.
Brown bread, 10–11*s.* per c.
Bohea tea, 25*s.* per lb.
Snuff, 16*s.* per lb.
Tobacco, £9–£9 6*s.* per bbl.
Rye, 5*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 3*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 1*s.* per bu.
Barley, 2*s.* 9*d.* per bu.
Salt, 1*s.* 2*d.* per bu.
Malt, 3*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Clapboards, £3 10*s.* per M.
Pine boards, £3 per M.
Planks, £4 per M.
Pipe-staves, £3 per M.
Barrel staves, 22*s.* 6*d.* per M.
Bricks, 24*s.* per M.
Gunpowder, £8 per bbl.
Pork, 45*s.* per bbl.
Beef, 30*s.* per bbl.
Pitch, 12*s.* per bbl.

Tar, 8*s*. per bbl.
Turpentine, 8*s*. per bbl.
Rice, 14*s*.–15*s*. per bbl.
Molasses, 13*d*. per gal.
Rum, 2*s*.–2*s*. 2*d*. per gal.
Glue, 1*s*. per lb.
Hemp, 8*d*. per lb.
Flax, 10*d*. per lb.

1722.

Wheat, 5*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Rye, 3*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Indian corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Firkin butter, £3 9*s*. 2*d*.
Wool, 18*d*. per lb.
Rum, 4*s*. per gal.
Cider, 6*s*. per bbl.

1723.

Wheat, 8*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Peas, 8*s*.–9*s*. per bu.
Bass fish, 18*s*. per bbl.
Gloves, 4*s*. per pair.
Bohea and green tea, 25*s*. per lb.
Ship bread, 25*s*. per hd.

1724.

Peas 5*s*. per bu.
Lime, 1*s*. per bu.
Fayal wine, 3*s*. per gal.
Molasses, 3*s*. per gal.
Sugar, 3*s*. per lb.
Chocolate, 3*s*. 6*d*. per lb.
Skein of yarn, 5*d*.
Wool, 16*d*. per lb.
Negro, £70–£80.

1725.

Green peas, 3*s*. per peck.
Sugar, 2*s*. per lb.
Pepper, 3*s*. per lb.

1726.

Indian corn, 6*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Deerskins, 3*s*. 6*d*.–7*s*.
Silver, 15*s*. per oz.
Gold, £11 10*s*. per oz.
Cotton wool, 2*s*. 6*d*. per lb.

1727.

Winter wheat, 6*s*. 6*d*.–8*s*. per bu.
Summer wheat, 5*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Barley, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s*. 6*d*.–4*s*. per bu.
Oats, 1*s*. per bu.
Peas, 7*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Flax, 1*s*. 2*d*. per lb.
Tobacco, 4*d*.–6*d*. per lb.
Hemp, 7*d*. per lb.
Beeswax, 2*s*. 4*d*. per lb.
Butter, 10*d*.–12*d*. per lb.
Tanned leather, 10*d*. per lb.
Mackerel, £1–£1 10*s*. per bbl.
Beef, £2 10*s*.–£3 per bbl.
Pork, £5–£5 10*s*. per bbl.
Salt, 20*s*. per bbl.
Turpentine, 13*s*. per bbl.
Bar iron, 48*s*. hd.
Dry codfish, £1 10*s*. quintal.

1728.

Molasses, 9*s.* per gal.
Rum, 2*s.*–3*d.* per gal.
Madeira, 4*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Canary, 7*s.* per gal.
Brandy, 10*s.* per gal.
Indian corn, 16*s.* per bbl.
Carrots, 15*s.* per bbl.
Turpentine, 15*s.* per bbl.
Cider, 12*s.* per bbl.
Wheat, 8*s.* per bu.
Salt, 20*s.* per hhd.
Cotton, 12*d.* per lb.
Silver, 18*s.* per oz.

1729.

Chocolate, 9*s.* per lb.
Bohea tea, 45*s.* per lb.
Salt, 3*s.* 4*d.* per bu.

1730.

Bohea tea, 30*s.* per lb.
Velvet corks, 9*s.* 6*d.* per gross.
Silver, 20*s.* per oz.

1731.

Peas, 3*s.* per peck.
Chocolate, 10*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Silver, 22*s.* per oz.
Negro, £50.

1732.

Indian corn, 7*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Rye, 7*s.* per bu.

1733.

Indian corn, 5*s.*–6*s.* per bu.
Barley, 11*s.* per bu.
Rye, 7*s.* per bu.
Tar, 20*s.*–28*s.* per bbl.
Rum, 4*s.* 6*d.*–5*s.* per gal.
Molasses, 3*s.* 6*d.* per gal.
Butter, 18*d.* per lb.
Cheshire cheese, 15*d.* per lb.
Ambergris, 80*s.* per lb.
Shad, ½*d.* per fish.
Silver, 25*s.* per oz.

1734.

Barley, 6*s.* per bu.
Wool, 24*d.* per lb.
Fish, £2 per bbl.
Cider, 16*s.* per bbl.
Worsted, 5*s.* per lb.
Beeswax, 2*s.* per lb.
Chocolate, 11*s.* per lb.

1735.

Bohea tea, 26*s.* per lb.
Congou tea, 34*s.* per lb.
Pekoe tea, 50*s.* per lb.
Green tea, 30*s.* per lb.
French rum, 6*s.* per gal.
Barbadoes rum, 5*s.* 9*d.* per gal.
New England rum, 4*s.* 10*d.* per gal.

1736.

Cow, £5.
Saddle, £3 10*s.*
Silver, 27*s.* per oz.
Chocolate, 13*s.* per lb.

1737.

Bohea tea, 16*s.*–26*s.* per lb.
Raisins, 6*d.* per lb.
Indigo, 30*s.* per lb.
Peas, 22*s.* per bu.
Gunpowder, £10 per ½ bbl.

1738.

Maryland beans, 12*s.* per bu.
Peas, 10*s.* per bu.
Madeira wine, £50 per pipe.
Canary wine, £45 per pipe.
Vinegar, 4*s.* per gal.
Hhd. Molasses, £20 5*s.*
Hhd. lime, £1.
Bbl. flour, £3 18*s.* 9*d.*
Rosin, 3*d.* per lb.
Silver, 27*s.* per oz.

1740.

Oats, 4*s.* per bu.
Peas, 10*s.* per bu.
Turkey, 3*s.*
Beaver, 10*s.* per lb.
Beeswax, 3*s.* per lb.
Castile soap, 2*s.* per lb.
Cloves, 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb.
Beef and mutton, 6*d.* per lb.
Lamb and veal, 6*d.* per lb.
Butter, 3*d.* per lb.
Fresh codfish, 2*d.* per fish.
Salmon, 14–15 lbs., 1*s.* per fish.
Bar iron, 40*s.* per hd.
Silver, 27*s.* per oz.

1741.

Wheat, 22*s.* per bu.
Cal skins, 2*s.* 6*d.*
Beaver skins, 1*s.* 3*d.*
Barley, 6*s.* per lb.
Raisins, 18*d.* per lb.
Bottle corks, 8*s.* per gross.
Pork, 20*s.* per bbl.
Cider, 12*d.* per bbl.
Silver, 30*s.* per oz.

1742.

Wheat, 15*s.* per bu.
Rye, 12*s.* per bu.
Indian corn, 9*s.* per bu.
Oats, 5*s.* per bu.
Barley, 10*s.* per bu.
Pimento, 2*s.* per lb.
Indigo, 30*s.* per lb.
Figs, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Raisins, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Sago, 8*s.* per lb.
Brown sugar, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Pork, 20*s.* per bbl.

1743.

Rosin, £3 3*s.* per bbl.
Tar, £1 12*s.* per bbl.
Turpentine, £2 5*s.* per bbl.
Molasses, 3*s.* 4*d.* per gal.
Coffee, 5*s.* per lb.
Rum, 1*s.* per gal.
Cord of wood, £1 7*s.*
Hhd. of salt, £1 2*s.* 6*d.*
Silver, 31*s.* per oz.

1744.

Chocolate, 7*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Powdered sugar, 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb.
Raisins, 3*s.* per lb.

1745.

Beef, £5 per bbl.
Pork, £12 per cask.
Peas, £3 per bbl.
Tobacco, 2*s.* per lb.
Tea, 35*s.* per lb.
Sugar, 2*s.* 3*d.* per lb.
Negro girl, £30.
Horse, £6.
Silver, 33*s.*–37*s.* per oz.
Claret, 10*s.* per gal.

1746.

Sugar, 1*s.* 9*d.* per lb.
Coffee, 5*s.* per lb.
Tobacco, 2*s.* per lb.
Wheat, 27*s.* per bu. O. T.
Beans, £2 10*s.* per bu. O. T.
Flour, £6 per bbl.
Silver, 38*s.*–40*s.* per oz.

1747.

Indian corn, 12*s.*–20*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 22*s.*–25*s.* per bu.
Rye, 16*s.*–22*s.* per bu.
Oats, 7*s.* per bu.
Barley, 14*s.* per bu.
Salt, 32*s.* per bu.
Butter, 2*s.* 6*d.*–5*s.* per lb.
Cheese, 2*s.* per lb.
Candles, 5*s.* per lb.
Beef, 9*d.*–1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Pork, 15*d.*–2*s.* per lb.
Mutton, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Sugar, 5*s.* per lb.
Chocolate, 14*s.* per lb.
Cotton wool, 13*s.* per lb.
Molasses, 15*s.*–20*s.* per gal.
Milk, 4*s.* per gal.
Rum, 21*s.* per gal.

1748.

Indian corn, 32*s.* per bu.
Rye, 46*s.* per bu.
Wheat, £3. per bu.
Butter, 6*s.* per lb.
Flour, £10 per hd.
Beef, £14 to £15 per bbl.
Salt, £12 per hhd.

1749.

Rice, 2*s.* per lb.
Molasses, 17*s.* per gal.
Barrel hoops, £5 per M.

1750.

Butter, 7*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
English hay, £3–£3 10*s.* per hd.

1751.

Indian corn, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 4*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 3*s.* 9*d.* per bu.
Barley, 2*s.* per bu.
Peas, 4*s.* per bu.
Cheshire cheese, 6*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Hemp, 3*d.* per lb.
Wool, 10*d.* per lb.
Oil, £1 6*s.* per bbl.
Pork, £2 10*s.* per bbl.
Beef, £1 12*s.* per bbl.
Codfish, 12*s.* per quintal.

1752.

Potatoes, 19*s.* O. T. per bu.
Indian corn, 4*s.* per bu.
Rye, 5*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 6*s.* per bu.
Barley, 4*s.* per bu.
Peas, 8*s.* per bu.
Flax, 1*s.* per lb.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Pork, 4*d.* per lb.
Pitch, £1 5*s.* per bbl.
Tar, £1 per bbl.
Turpentine, £1 10*s.* per bbl.
Laborers, 15*s.* per day.

1753.

Indian corn, 4*s.* per bu.
Barley, 4*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 6*s.* per bu.
Rye, 5*s.* per bu.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Pork, 8*d.* per lb.
Flax, 1*s.* per lb.
Sugar, 6*s.* 6*d.* per lb. O. T.
Iron, 2*s.* per cwt.
Codfish, 2*s.* per quintal.
Hemp, £2 15*s.* per cwt.
Laborers, 15*s.*–16*s.* per day.

1754.

Wheat, 8*s.* per bu.
Corn, £1 5*s.* O. T. per bu.
Rye, £1 3*s.* O. T. per bu.
Potatoes, 15*s.* O. T. per bu.
Beaver skin, £2 10*s.*
Otter skin, £3 15*s.*
Cheshire cheese, 4*s.* per lb.
Brick, £4 10*s.* per M.
Laborers, 15*s.* per day.

1755.

Indian corn, 6*s.* per bu.
Rye, 6*s.* per bu.
Wheat, 10*s.* per bu.
Barley, 6*s.* per bu.
Peas, 10*s.* per bu.
Potatoes, 17*s.* 6*d.* O. T.
Flax, 1*s.* per lb.
Pork, 7*d.* per lb.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Sugar, 5*s.* 9*d.* per lb. O. T.
Cheese, 4*s.* per lb. O. T.
Turpentine, £2 per bbl.
Pitch, £1 10*s.* per bbl.
Tar, £1 5*s.* per bbl.
Cider, £2 per bbl. O. T.
Codfish, £1 10*s.* per quintal.
Laborers, 15*s.*–16*s.* per day.

1756.

Barley, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Indian corn, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 5*s.* O. T. per bu.
Beef, 6*s.* 4*d.* O. T. per lb.
Tea, £3 O. T. per lb.
Wool, 1*s.* O. T. per lb.
Salt, £1 10*s.* O. T. per bu.
Laborers, 7*s.* 6*d.* O. T. per day.
" sawing timber. £1 1*s.* 9*d.* O. T. per day.
" agricultural, 15*s.* O. T. per day.

1757.

Indian corn and barley, 7*s.* per bu.
Peas, 12*s.* per bu.
Winter wheat, 20*s.* per bu.
Oats, 15*s.* O. T. per bu.
Salt, £1 16*s.* O. T. per bu.
Hemp, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Flax, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Beef, 4*d.* per lb.
Pork, 9*d.* per lb.
Cider, £1 10*s.* O. T. per bbl.
Codfish, £2 10*s.* O. T. per qtl.
Iron, £4 per c.
Wood, £4–£4 15*s.* per cord.
Laborers, 7*s.* 6*d.* per day.
" agricultural, 14*s.* 6*d.* per day.

1758.

Rye and Indian corn, 6*s.* per bu.
Barley and peas, 10*s.* per bu.
Winter wheat, 20*s.* per bu.
Salt, £1 17*s.* 6*d.* O. T. per bu.
Hemp and flax, 1*s.* per lb.
Pork, 7*d.* per lb.
Beef, 7½*d.* per lb.
Sugar, loaf, 8*s.* 5*d.* O. T. per lb.
Bar iron, £3 per hd.
Codfish, £1 10*s.* per quintal.
Eggs, 3*s.* 6*d.* per doz.
Laborers, 11*s.* per day.

1759.

Rye and Indian corn, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 15*s.* O. T. per bu.
Beans, £1 16*s.* O. T. per bu.
Oats, 1*s.* 3*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Barley, 2*s.* per bu.
Cheese, 4*s.* per lb.
Chocolate, 11*s.* per lb.
Wool, 11*d.* per lb.
Sugar, 3*s.* 2*d.* O. T.
Iron (refined), 2*s.* 6*d.* per. lb.
Pork, £3 per bbl.
Beef, 40*s.* per bbl.
Bread, 19*s.* per cwt.
Flour, 19*s.* per cwt.
Laborers, 11*s.* per day.

1760.

Buckwheat, 1*s.* 8*d.*–2*s.* per bu.
Potatoes, 18*s.* O. T. per bu.
Corn, £1 10*s.* O. T. per bu.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Flour, 3*d.* per lb.
Mutton, 4*d.* per lb.
Laborers, 11*s.* per day.

1761.

Wheat, 3*s*. 2½*d*.–30*s*. per bu.
Indian corn, 1*s*. 8*d*.–10*s*. per bu.
Rye, 2*s*. 6*d*.–10*s*. per bu.
Peas, 15*s*. per bu.
Barley, 10*s*. per bu.
Butter, 4*s*. 6*d*. per lb.
Pork, 3*d*.–1*s*. per lb.
Beef, 9*d*. per lb.
Hemp, 2*s*. per lb.
Flax, 2*s*. per lb.
Beaver, 5*s*. per lb.
Cider, £2 5*s*. per bbl. O. T.
Codfish, £4 per quintal.
Bar iron, £6 per cwt.
Rum, 3*s*. per gall.
Herring, 1*s*. 6*d*. per doz.
Laborers, 11*s*. per day.
" agricultural, 14*s*. per day.

1762.

Potatoes, 2*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Corn, £1 10*s*. O. T. per bu.
Rye, £1 10*s*. O. T. per bu.
Butter, 1*s*. per lb.
Cheese, 6*d*. per lb.
Beef, 2½*d*. per lb.
Iron, 3*d*. per lb.
Molasses, 3*s*. per gal.
Salt, 1½*d*. per quart.
Laborers, 8*s*. O. T. per day.
" chopping wood, 1*s*. 6*d*. per day.

1763.

Potatoes, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. per bu.
Corn, 1*s*. per peck.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Cotton wool, 17*s*.–18*s*. per lb.
Mackerel, 18*s*.
Shad and alewives, 10*s*.
Cider, 6*s*. per bbl.
Laborers, 15*s*.–16*s*. per day.

1764.

Potatoes, 15*s*. O. T. per bu.
Rye, £2 O. T. per bu.
Corn, 1*s*. per peck, O. T.
Cotton wool, £1 2*s*. 6*d*. per lb. O. T.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Flour, 13*s*. 4*d*. per cwt.
Brick, 15*s*. per M.
Cider, £2 5*s*. per bbl. O. T.
Rum, 4*s*. 6*d*. per pint.
Laborers, 16*s*. per day.
" agricultural, 17*s*. per day.

1765.

Indian corn, 10*s*. O. T. per bu.
Rye and barley, 10*s* O. T. per bu.
Peas, 20*s*. O. T. per bu.
Winter wheat, 25*s*. O. T. per bu.
Potatoes, 12*s*.–15*s*. O. T. per bu.
Plax and hemp, 3*s*. O. T. per lb.
Beef, 9*d*. O. T. per lb.
Pork, 1*s*. O. T. per lb.
Codfish, £4 O. T. per quintal.
Iron, £5 O. T. per hd.
Molasses, 8*d*. per quart.
Meal, 2*d*. per quart.
Rum, 5*s*. O. T. per pt.
Brick, 18*s*. per M.
Laborers, 15*s*. per day.

1766.

Corn, 1*s.*–3*s.* 2*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* per bu.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb.
Pork, 5*d.* per lb.
Cider, £1 10*s.* o. t. per bbl.
Meal, 1*s.* 4*d.* o. t. per quart.
Laborers, 15*s.* per day.

1767.

Corn, 3*s.* 4*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* per bu.
Meal, 3*s.* per bu.
Mutton, 3*d.* per lb.
Tobacco, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Flax, 10*d.* per lb.
Molasses, 1*s.* 2*d.* o. t. per gal.
Vinegar, 9*d.* o. t. per gal.
Cider, £2 5*s.* o. t. per bbl.
Laborers, 15*s.* o. t. per day.

1768.

Indian corn, £1 1*s.* 7*d.* o. t. per bu.
Potatoes, 18*s.* o. t. per bu.
Peas, 12*s.* o. t. per peck.
Onions, £1 5*s.* o. t. per bu.
Flax, 5*s.* 2*d.* o. t. per lb.
Laborers, 15*s.* 9*d.* o. t. per day.

1769.

Lemons, £3 12*s.* o. t. per hd.
Beef, 1*s.* 3*d.* o. t. per lb.
Sugar, 3*s.* 9*d.* o. t. per lb.
Laborers, 13*s.* 4*d.* o. t. per day.

1770.

Indian corn, £1 2*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per bu.
Potatoes, 1*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per bu.
Rye, £1 o. t. per bu.
Wheat, £2 5*s.* o. t. per bu.
Tobacco, 2*s.* 10*d.* o. t. per lb.
Lemons, 7*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per doz.
Cider, £2 2*s.*–£2 15*s.* o. t. per bbl.
Laborers, 15*s.* o. t. per day.

1771.

Potatoes, 9*s.* 2*d.* o. t. per bu.
Peas, 2*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per quart.
Tea, 3*s.* per lb.
Butter, 4*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per lb.
Sugar, 4*s.* 1*d.* o. t. per lb.
Tobacco, 2*s.* 6*d.* o. t. per lb.
Cider, £2 11*s.* per bbl.
Laborers, 15*s.* o. t. per day.

1772.

Indian corn, 2*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Wheat, 4*s.*–6*s.* 6*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 7*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Butter, 4*s.* 11*d.* per lb. o. t.
Tobacco, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. o. t.
Flax, 4*s.* 6*d.* per lb. o. t.
Cider, £1 10*s.*–£2 4*s.* o. t. per bbl.
Carpenters, 19*s.* o. t. per day.
Laborers, 15*s.* o. t. per day.

1773.

Potatoes, 15*s*. O. T. per bu.
Molasses, 3*s*. 9*d*. O. T. per quart.
Butter, 4*s*. 10*d*. O. T. per lb.
Sugar, 1*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. O. T. per lb.
Hyson tea, 18*s*. O. T, per lb.
Cider, £2 5*s*. O. T. per bbl.
Eggs, 2*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per dozen.
Laborers, 15*s*. O. T. per day.

1774.

Corn, 22*s*. 6*d*.–25*s*. O. T. per bu.
Potatoes, 10*s*. 4*d*. O. T. per bu.
Wheat, £2 5*s*. O. T. per bu.
Salt, 22*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per bu.
Coffee, 9*d*. per lb.
Butter, 11*d*. to 15*d*. per lb.
Beef, 5*d*. per lb.
Pork, 3*s*. O. T. per lb.
Wool, 9*d*. per lb.
Cheese, 3*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Bohea tea, £2 5*s*. O. T. per lb.
Tobacco, 2*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Sugar, 3*s*. 9*d*. O. T. per lb.
Molasses, 3*s*. 9*d*. O. T. per quart.
Milk, 1*s*. O. T. per quart.
Cider, £1 10*s*. O. T. per bbl.
Eggs, 1*s*. per dozen.
Carpenters, 16*s*. per day, O. T.
Laborers, 15*s*. per day, O. T.

1775.

Rye meal, 3*s*. 9*d*. per bu.
Potatoes, 9*s*.; 10*s*. 6*d*.; 11*s*. 1*d*. O. T. per bu.
Indian meal, 3*s*. 9*d*. per bu.
Wheat, £1 17*s*. per bu.
Butter, 2*s*. per lb.
Cheese, 4*d*. per lb.
Sugar, 6½*d*. per lb.
Pork, 4*d*. per lb.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Mutton, 3½*d*. per lb.
Tobacco, 4*s*. O. T. per lb.
Molasses, 18*s*. O. T. per gal.
Cider, £1 12*s*. 2*d*. O. T. per bbl.
Eggs, 7*d*. per dozen.
Lemons, 2*s*. per dozen.
Butchers, 15*s*. O. T. per day.
Laborers, 17*s*. 2*d*. per day.

1776.

Corn, 3*s*. per bu.
Rye, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Wheat, 6*s*. 8*d*. per bu.
Potatoes, 1*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Oats, 1*s*. 9*d*. per bu.
Peas, 7*s*. per bu.
Butter, 9*d*. per lb.
Cheese, 6*d*. per lb.
Fresh pork, 6*d*. per lb.
Beef, 3*d*. per lb.
Salt pork, 7*d*. per lb.
Cider, 4*s*. per bbl.
Dry codfish, 16*s* per quintal.
Laborers, 18*s*. 7*d*. per day O. T.
" agricultural, 15*s*. per day O. T.

1777.

Indian corn, 4*s*. O. T. per bu.
Wheat, 6*s*. 8*d*. per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Corn, 5*s*. 5*d*. per bu.
Butter, 8*d*. to 9*d*. per lb.
Pork, 4*d*. per lb.
Sugar, 1*s*. 8*d*. per lb.
Wool, 2*s*. per lb.

Mutton, 6*d*. per lb.
Vinegar, 1*s*. per gal.
Meal and rye meal, 1*s*. per peck.
Laborers, 10*s*. per day, O. T.
" agricultural, 3*s*. 4*d*. per day, O. T.

1778.

Potatoes, 15*s*. O. T. per bu.
Butter, 4*s*. 11*d*. O. T. per lb.
Sugar, 7*s*. O. T. per lb.
Laborers, 17*s*. O. T. per day.

1779.

Corn, £3 12*s*. O. T. per bu.
Rye, £5 2*s*. O. T. per bu.
Wheat, £8 2*s*. O. T. per bu.
Oats, £1 16*s*. O. T. per bu.
Salt, £1 2*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per bu.
Butter, 11*s*. O. T. per lb.
Cheese, 5*s*. 6*d*. to 6*s*. O. T. per lb.
Wool, £1 4*s*. O. T. per lb.
Cotton, 3*s*. 8*d*. O. T. per lb.
Mutton, 3*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Beef, 5*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Molasses, 17*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per gal.
Rum, £1 O. T. per gal.
Cider, 4*s*. O. T. per gal.
Carpenters, £1 9*s*. 1*d*. to £2 6*s*. 2*d*. O. T. per day.
Laborers, £1 15*s*. 8*d*. O. T. per day.

1780.

Corn, 4*s*. 4*d*. ; $40 per bu.
Rye, 6*s*. ; $80 per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s*. per bu.
Beef, 5*d*. per lb.
Flax, 9*d*. per lb.
Pork, 9*d*. per lb.
Sugar, 7*d*. per lb.
Tea, 3*s*. 9*d*. per lb.
Mutton, 5*d*. per lb.
Vinegar, 8*d*. per gal.
Molasses, 2*s*. 4*d*. per gal.
Milk, 2*d*. per quart.
Carpenters, 20*s*. O. T. per day.
Laborers, 2*s*. 8*d*. O. T. per day.

1781.

Meal, 7*s*. 8*d*. O. T. per bu.
Potatoes, 15*s*.–18*s*. O. T. per bu.
Beef, 1*s*. 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Flax, 5*s*. O. T. per lb.
Sugar, 54*s*. O. T. per lb.
Coffee, 96*s*. O. T. per lb.
Butter, 60*s*. O. T. per lb.
Pork, 60*s*. O. T. per lb.
Tobacco, 36*s*. O. T. per lb.
Milk, 15*s*. O. T. per quart.
Molasses, 22*s*. O. T. per pint.
Rum, 45*s*. O. T. per pint.
Blacksmiths, 4*s*. O. T. per day.
Carpenters, £1 3*s*. 8*d*. O. T. per day.
Laborers, £1 1*s*. and 18*s*. O. T. per day.

1782.

Corn, 5*s*. 5*d*. O. T. per bu.
Meal, 6*s*. O. T. per bu.
Oats, 3*s*. 10*d*. O. T. per bu.
Potatoes, 3*s*. lawful money, per bu.
Salt, 5*s*. L. M. per bu.
Rye, 2*s*. L. M. per peck.
Beef, 5*d*. L. M. per lb.
Pork, 8*d* L. M. per lb.

Sugar, 6*d*. and 10*d*. L. M. per lb.
Wool, 2*d*. L. M. per lb.
Cheese, 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Codfish, 6*d*. O. T. per lb.
Coffee, 2*s*. 1*d*. O. T. per lb.
Flax, 1*s*. O. T. per lb.
Flour, 4*d*. O. T. per lb.
Tea, 9*s*. 9*d*. O. T. per lb.
Tobacco, 7*d*. O. T. per lb.
Molasses, 1*s*. 2*d*. O. T. per quart.
Rum, 1*s*. 11*d*. O. T. per quart.
Cider, 6*s*. O. T. per bbl.
Blacksmiths, 5*s*. O. T. per day.
Carpenters, 4*s*. O. T. per day.
Laborers, 15*s*. O. T. per day.

1783.

Corn, 3*s*. 4*d*. to 6*s*. 10*d*. per bu.
Oats, 2*s*. 1*d*. to 8*s*. 9*d*. per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s*. to 3*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Rye, 6*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Peas, 3*s*. 1*d*. per peck.
Salt, 1*s*. 2*d*. per peck.
Butter, 8*d*. per lb.
Cheese, 3*d*., 5*d*., and 10*d*. per lb.
Chocolate, 1*s*. 3*d*. to 2*s*. 4*d*. per lb.
Coffee, 1*s*. per lb.
Cotton wool, 2*s*. 7*d*. per lb.
Flax, 10*d*. per lb.
Flour, 3*d*. per lb.
Mutton, 3*d*. per lb.
Rice, 3*d*. per lb.
Sugar, 8*d*. per lb.
Tea, 5*s*. 10*d*. per lb.
Tobacco, 8*d*. per lb.
Molasses, 8*d*. per quart.
Rum, 1*s*. 4*d*. per quart.
Vinegar, 3*d*. per quart.
Eggs, 4*d*.–8*d*. per dozen.
Lemons, 3*d*. apiece.
Carpenters, £1 2*s*. and 3*s*. 3*d*. per day.
Laborers, £1 1*s*. 6*d*. and 16*s*. 6*d*. per day.

1784.

Corn, 3*s*. 2*d*. per bu.
Meal, 3*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Oats, 3*s*. per bu.
Potatoes, 7*s*. 6*d*. per bu.
Rye, 5*s*. 11*d*. per bu.
Salt, 6*d*.–1*s*. per peck.
Cheese, 3*d*.–6*d*. per lb.
Chocolate, 1*s*. 4*d*. per lb.
Coffee, 1*s*. per lb.
Flax, 6*d*. per lb.
Flour, 2*d*. per lb.
Sugar, 7*d*. per lb.
Tea, 3*s*. 11*d*. per lb.
Tobacco, 4*d*. per lb.
Wool, 10*s*. 2*d*. per lb.
Molasses, 5*d*. per quart.
Rum, 8*d*. to 1*s*. 3*d*. per quart.
Milk, 1*s*. 3*d*. per quart.
Gin, 2*s*. 7*d*. per quart.
Fish, $3 per quintal.
Blacksmiths, 4*s*. per day.
Carpenters, £1 7*s*. 6*d*. and 3*s*. 7*d*. per day.
Laborers, 15*s*. to 18*s*. per day.

1785.

Corn, 5*s*. per bu.
Potatoes, 1*s*. 4*d*. per bu.
Rye, 1*s*. 6*d*. L. M. per peck.
Salt, 1*s*. 2*d*. L. M. per peck.
Meal, 1*s*. 3*d*. L. M. per peck.
Beef, 3*d*. L. M. per lb.
Cheese, 6*d*. L. M. per lb.
Pork, 7*d*. L. M. per lb.

Flour, 2*d.* L. M. per lb.
Sugar, 7*d.* L. M. per lb.
Tea, 3*s.* 2*d.* L. M. per lb.
Molasses, 2*s.* 2*d.* L. M. per quart.
Milk, 1*d.* L. M. per quart.
Rum, 2*s.* 2*d.* per gal.
Oil, 6*s.* 6*d.* per gall.
Carpenters, 3*s.* 6*d.* per day.
Laborers, 3*s.* 4*d.* per day.

1786.

Indian corn, 4*s.* per bu.
Corn, 4*s.* 8*d.* per bu.
Potatoes, 1*s.* 4*d.* to 13*s.* 4*d.* per bu.
Rye, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* per bu.
Salt, 4*s.* per bu.
Beef, 1*s.* 10*d.* to 2*s.* per lb.
Butter, 5*s.* per lb.
Flour, £1 12*s.* 6*d.* per bbl.
Molasses, 2*s.* per gal.
Linseed oil, 7*s.* 7*d.* per gal.
Milk, 2*d.* per quart.
Carpenters, 3*s.* per day.
Laborers, 4*s.* per day.

1787.

Corn, 3*s.* 4*d.* per bu.
Oats, 2*s.* per bu.
Potatoes, 1*s.* per bu.
Butter, 8*d.* per lb.
Cheese, 5*d.* per lb.
Cotton, 3*s.* per lb.
Flax, 8*d.* per lb.
Blacksmiths, 3*s.* 9*d.* per day.
Carpenters, 3*s.* 2*d.* per day.
Laborers, 5*s.* per day.

1788.

Corn, 4*s.* L. M. per bu.
Oats, 4*s.* L. M. per bu.
Potatoes, 2*s.* L. M. per bu.
Rye, 5*s.* 8*d.* L. M. per bu.
Salt, 2*s.* L. M. per bu.
Cheese, 6*d.* L. M. per lb.
Cotton wool, 3*s.* L M. per lb.
Pork, 8*d.* L. M. per lb.
Bohea tea, 3*s.* per lb.
Tobacco, 6*d.* per lb,
Molasses, 2*s.* L. M. per gal.
Vinegar, 3*d.* L. M. per gal.
Milk, 2*d.* per quart.
Carpenters, 3*s.* per day.
Laborers, 3*s.* 1*d.* per day.
Masons, 6*s.* per day.

1789.

Indian corn, 3*s.* 2*d.* per bu.
Cheese, 5*d.* per lb.
Coffee, 10 cents per lb.
Carpenters, 3*s.* 4*d.* per day.
Laborers, 2*s.* 4*d.* per day.

APPENDIX B.

Method of Vessels' Accounts in 1731.

Schooner Cupid Dr. to Robert Hale.

	£	s.	d.
June 5, per Sundries bought of John Carnes, of Boston.			
Per my Wages at £6 per month to July 14	8	8	0
Per Joseph Sallis his wages at £4.10 to July 14	6	6	0
Per a Pilotts wages at £9 per M.	10	10	3
Per my Commissions	0	0	0
Per a pair Bellows 5/, mending Lock 1/, Salt 9/	0	15	0
Per Saucepan 1 quart 4/4 Almanack 6*d*.	0	4	10
Per 106 Gall[s] Rum, 5/3	27	16	6
Per Fish & pepper 1/6, nails 3/, Brimstone 5*d*.	0	4	11
Per Knife & Whetstone 4/, Funnel 1/6	0	5	6
Per W[m] Haskalls Wages at £5 per month to July 14	7	0	0
Per Glass 3/, Staple 10*d*, Yard 6*d*, sheers 2/	0	6	4
Candles 9/, Pepper Box 1/, Pyes 2/.	0	12	0
Meat 6/, Candlestick 1/2	0	7	2
Bottles 40/, Corks 6/, Pitch 3/	2	9	0
June 5, Bot of Carnes Cod hooks, Leads, Hoops & Twine	3	3	7
Pork £7, Salt 40/	9	0	0
A Candlestick 1/2	0	1	2
	£77	10	3
Ditto more for Glass 1/, & for Rigging 18/, & oakum 10/, Staples 2/	1	11	0
	£79	1	3
[*sic*]	62	19	3
Sugar Haskall's ¼ p[t]	6	2	0
Fish 7*d*			
Calkor	1	10	6
Medicines			

1731. Contra, Cr.			
Per Cash £5 rec[d] of Gov[r] Cosby for Freight	£5	0	0
Per Cash rec[d] of Carnes and Comp[y] for freight	48	16	0
tto for Pilott	5	0	0
tto Cash rec[d] for Mackarel	2	0	0
	£60	16	0
Per Ricarlo Nicholson 6/6, Sallis 36/9	2	3	3
	£62	19	3

Haskall's Wages . .	£7 0 0		
	1 10 6	pd. Haskall qr	
		tto. 2	
	£5 9 6	tto. 3	
	1 12 0		
		£1 12 0	
	3 17 6		
due to Haskall . . .	0 1 2	Candlestick	
	£3 18 8		

Schooner Cupid Dr. to Wm. Haskall.

Per a Candlestick 1/3, Ballanc'd.
Per his Wages at £5 per Month.

Beverly, July 14, 1731.

Then Robert Hale & Wm. Haskall, owners of the Schooner Cupid, adjusted Acc^ts^ and there remains due unto s^d^ Haskall to Ballance all Acc^ts^ referring to their Wages & Partnership, &c^a^, in s^d^ vessel, the Sum of . . . £3 19 8

Witness our Hands, ROBERT HALE
WM. HASKALL

Beverly, August 20, 1731.

Wee Reckoned again, & now remains due to Haskall besides his quarter part of a quantity of Fish & Rum s^d^ Hale has in his hands & his part of y^e^ Freight (no wages reckon'd for as yet) £3 6 7

WM. HASKALL

September 2, 1731.

Reckoned again value to P. Haskall £5 17 4
besides his quarter part of Demmurrage, Fish, Grindstones, Freight of Coal from Boston, & y^t^ Acc^t^ of Rum unsettled . . . . . or rather £6 2 1

WM. HASKALL

N. B. James Patches wages were not reckoned w^e^ makes 15/1 less due to Haskall 0 15 1

So y^t^ tis £5 7 10

Robert Hale's MS., Am. Ant. Soc.

APPENDIX C.

1740.

R. I. Arch., MS.

ORATARO, CAP^{n} BY CHARM. BETTY.

Memorandum from Boston or Rhode Island to Barbadoes.

Staves, shingles, flower, Indian corn or any other goods you find will turn to account either at Barbadoes or the Leeward Islands which you'l be best informed of there, and if conveniently to carry what horses you can, &c.

From Rhode Island and Boston to this Island for the Orataro or any other Vessel you shall send —

1,000 bushels of wheat.

1,000 bushels of Indian corn of the yellow sort.

what bees wax can get.

40 to 50 boxes of tallow Candles of 8 to the pound and 80 lb neats tanned leather a good parcel of the yellow sort.

Cod fish for the Jamaica market, about 200 quintals put up in kegs.

15 barrl of Rice.

100 to 200 barrl of the best new flowers of one hund^{d} and $\frac{8}{4}$ neat.

Six Dozen of Men's beaver hats of a fashionable size.

Fill up with Butt and pipe staves $\frac{2}{3}$ Butt and $\frac{1}{3}$ for pipes, also hogsheads and quarter Cask if the Vessel you freight be not so large as the Orataro must — everything accordingly.

From Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands for Virginia —

Rum and Molasses, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the former and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the latter — Brown sugar or Muscovada in small light Barrl. a quarter part of Cargo.

N. B. the smaller the Casks of Rum be, they will be the easier disposed of.

From Virginia to this Island —

1,000 bushels of wheat.

1,000 bushels of Indian Corn of the yellow sort.

bees wax as much as can get, being the best article.

tann'd leather of the yellow sort, a good parcel of about 8 to 12 sides.

20 to 30 barr. of Pork, and if cheap may increase to double the quantity.

Beef, 70 to 100 barr. free from necks and shanks as Possible, and if cheap may encrease the quantity 100 to 150 hams, all or mostly legs ; *fill up with* staves, voz, $\frac{2}{3}$ Butt and $\frac{1}{3}$ pipes staves shaved down for the conveniency of stowing. If the Pork and Beef be scarce and dear then must encrease the quantity of wheat.

APPENDIX D.

1749.

Doc. New York, vi. 510, 511.

GOVERNOR CLINTON'S REPORT ON THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, *May* 23, 1749.

"What Methods are there used to prevent illegal trade & are the same Effectual?" Ans^{r}. The Inward Trading in General is from Great Britain, European Goods, & those India with silk Manufactures chiefly. From Ireland Linnen & Canvas Manufacturies certified duly. From British Colonies, enumerated Commodities, Piemento, Sulphur, Straw Plating, Lime juice, Coffee growth thereof, Hides, Deer Skins, Conch Shells, Mohogonie, Plank, Ebonie, & Negrôs. From Europe and Africa, besides English Foreign Settlements in America, Salt. From the African Coast within the proper limits Directed, Negrôs now less than formerly. From Madeir & Canarie Islands the growth thereof. From the Northern and Southern parts of this Continent, Fish, Oil, Bluber, Whale Fins, Turpentine Oil, Seal Skins, Hops, Cyder, Flax, Bricks, Cole, Lamp Black, certain wrought Iron — Tin and Braisery, Joinery, various Carriages and Chairs. From Plantations not under his Maj^{s} Dominions, Molasses, Sugar & Rum in no great quantitys, since the Act imposing the New Dutys thereon, Ligu. Vitae, Drugs, Logwood & other Dying wood, Indico, Cocoa Nutts, Cotton Wool, Snuff, &etc. And the Outward is to London and it's outposts, the latter more seldom, Naval Stores, Copper ore, Furs and other the enumerated Species with the legal Import of divers Mercantile Wares, Plantation Iron, Oil, Spermacaeti, Whales Fins, Lime juice, Shruff, Myrtle Candles, Mahogany, & Walnut Planks, Reeds & Drugs. To Ireland Flax Seed, Rum, Sugar, being Prise effects, and Staves. To Sev^{l} Parts in Europe, Grain, Hides, Deer & Elk Skins, Ox Horns, Sarsaperila, Indico, Logwood, Cocoa Nutts, &etc. And Foreign Produce & Lumber. Moreover Argent Vivum, Coffee, Anato, Elephant's Teeth, Beewax, Leather, Sarsafrax, Casia-fistula, Wines and other Goods as Prise Effects hitherto brought and in the Vice-Admiralty Courts here and elsewhere adjudicated upon proper certifying. To Madeira & the Azorts, Grain and other Provisions, Bee Wax and Staves. To English Districts North and South of this Continent & West Indies, Provisions, Chocolate, Lumber, European and India Goods with those Enumerated in the Plantation Trade Acts, and such other Imported here for conveyance home regularly. To neutral Ports as Coracoa, Suronhaim, & St Thomas; Provisions, Lumber, Horses, Sheep, & other live Stock with their Provender.

APPENDIX E.

P. Faneuil, Invoice, 1725, Jul. 15.

80½ bbls. Flower, impd. by And. Faneuil on Sloop Grayhound for acct. Steph De Lancey :

					£	s.	d.
Gross	£153	3	27				
Tare	12	1	21				
	£141	2	6	neat 12/ per hd.	84	18	7½
				Bbls 18/.	6	0	0
				Weighing, Carting, Nails, &c.	1	5	4½
					£92	4	0

Sept. 9, 1725.

Inv. 20 p^{s} Demy Long Cloths, 2 Coll^{s} @ 21/.	£21	0	0
60 p^{s} printed Callicoes, 3 Coll^{s} (colors ?) 17/.	51	0	0
2 " Demy Garlicks 19/	1	18	0
4 " " ⅞ " 21/6	4	6	0
2 " brown papered Garlicks 27/6	2	15	0
10 Ells brown ozenbrigs @ 8*d* and chest	0	14	2
18 p^{s} Narrow Double Camblets 39/6	35	11	0
2 " Cherry in grain "	4	8	0
40 half bbls. gunpowder 65/	65	0	0

P. Faneuil, Invoice, Sep. 9, 1725.

	£	s.	d.
Locq^{t} searcher's fees wharf^{s} porters, Carmen & Water-adge of y^{e} 3 bales Camblets	0	13	4
Clearing of the gunpowder & Waiterage	0	19	6
Primage to the Master	0	5	6
Insurance of £450 @ 2 pr cent	9	0	0
Commissions 2 pr cent on £425	8	10	0
London, 23 June, 1725.	£19	8	4

APPENDIX F.

1743.

Suffolk P. R., xxxvii. 112.

PETER FANEUIL, ESQ.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1 engine	15	00	00
1 copper cistern	6	00	00
1 gold watch, chain, & seal of Graham's make	125	00	00
5 negroes at £150, 130, 120, 120, & 110 respectively.			
A chariot	400	00	00
A coach	100	00	00
A twc wheeled chaise	50	00	00
2 English horses	300	00	00
2 Albany "	100	00	00
1 white horse	15	00	00

1743.

Suffolk P. R., xxxvii. 112, 113.

PETER FANEUIL, ESQ.	£	*s.*	*d.*
100 bushels oats & buckwheat	40	00	00
9 loaves of sugar	10	00	00
1,400 oz. of silver plate	2,122	10	00
10 pipes Madeira wine	900	00	00
7 hhds. of ordinary claret	150	00	00
25 gallons of arrack	62	10	00
4 jars of oil	60	00	00
1,200 yds. of French canvas	180	00	00
22 bbls. of Connecticut Pork	308	00	00
11 " " N. Y. "	132	00	00
5 tierces of rum	125	00	00

1743.

Suffolk P. R., xxxvii. 113, 114.

PETER FANEUIL, ESQ.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1½ quintals of stock fish	3	00	00
2 " " cod	4	00	00
16 bbls. of starch	19	03	02
3 bbls. of peas	7	10	00
Mansion House, with garden, outhouses & yard	12,375	00	00
10 pipes of cider	50	00	00
⅞ of the brig^{t} Rochelle	1,300	00	00
The brig^{n} Flower de Luce	1,100	00	00
Sloop Swan	1,000	00	00
1 "jarr" of oil	15	00	00

APPENDIX G.

1770.

Boston News Letter, March 8th.

A SCHEME, by James Popham, of Newark in New Castle County, for manufacturing two hundred stone of wool at 16 pounds to each stone, together with the expenses of labor utensils, houses, &c., which will employ the number of hands as mentioned underneath.

EXPENSES OF UTENSILS.	£	s.	d.
1 pair wool combs	3	00	00
1 pair stock cards	0	12	00
6 pair hand "	1	01	00
Warping mill	2	00	00
Twisting mill for worsted	5	00	00
4 looms & tackle	12	00	00
Furnace for dying	20	00	00
Fulling mill	100	00	00
Houses for carrying on the work	100	00	00

EXPENSES OF WOOL, DYING STUFFS, & WORKMEN'S WAGES.	£	s.	d.
200 stone of wool at 24*s*.	240	00	00
Dying stuffs of all sorts	30	00	00
1 comber may earn per annum	40	00	00
4 weavers ditto.	160	00	00
15 spinners	220	00	00
3 winders of worsted & yarn	35	00	00
2 boys	30	00	00
1 manager	100	00	00
	£855	00	00

The produce of one year may be about 6,000 yards of different sorts, such as camblets, callimarcoes, cambletees, plain, striped and figured stuffs, druggets, raggathies, German serges, everlastings, plushes, &c. The aforesaid number of yards may be computed on an average worth 4 shillings per yard, which will amount to £1,200.00.

	£	s.	d.	
	1,200	00	00	
Expenses of wool, &c.	855	00	00	
	345	00	00	
Leaves an annual profit of				£101 07 00

APPENDIX H.

R. I. Arch.

1776.

BRIG NANCY, BENJ. BAKER, MASTER.

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good order and well conditioned, by John Northup & Benjamin Gardiner, in and upon the good Brig^{t} called the Nancy whereof is Master under God for the Present Voyage Benjamin Baker and now riding at anchor in the Harbour of Wickford, and by God's grace bound for the Salt Islands. To say Twenty bbls. Flour, Ten bbls. Beef, Twelve ditto Pork, 198 Cheese, 40 Bu^{s} Ind^{n} Corn, Hard Money to Amo^{t} Sixty Dollars Stores — 4 Tierces Bread, 3 bbls. Beef, 3 ditto of Pork, 30 Bus^{s} Potatoes, 2 do Ind^{n} Meal, ½ Ct. Brown Sugar, 2 half bbls N^{w} Rum, 1 Cag 7½ Galls. west India d^{o}, 2 bbls Cyder, 1 Cord Wood, 2¼ Bu^{s} Beans 40 lbs Candles, 1 Cag 10½ Gall. Molasses, 20 lbs Salt Fish, 8 lbs powder, 30 lbs Ball, 1 Swivel Gun, 2 Brass Blunder Busses, 3 Musket Guns, 20 Flints, 4 Spades, 1 Salt Rake, 1 Half Bushel, 50 yds Ozabrigs, 3 Sk. Twine, 1 Hour Glass, 4 Wheel Barrows, ½ Q^{u} Car. Paper, 24 lbs Coffee, 10 Hh^{ds} Water. Being mark'd & numbered as in the Margin and are to be delivered in the like good order & well conditioned at the afores^{d} Ports or Salt Islands, the danger of the Seas & Enemy only Excepted, unto s^{d} Master or to his Assigns. He or they paying Fret. for the s^{d} Goods Nothing. In Witness whereof the Master of s^{d} Brig^{t} hath affirmed unto Two bills of Lading both of this tenor & date, one of which two bills being Accomplished, the other to stand Void. And so God send the good Brig^{t} to her desired Port or Ports in Safety. Amen.

Dated at North Kingstown,
Febry 1*st*, 1776. BENJ. BAKER.

1776.

BRIG NANCY, BENJAMIN BAKER, MASTER.

Time of Entry.	Men's Names.	Quality.	Wages per Month.	Advance Wages.	Wages on ye Voige.	Whole Wages.
23 Jan.	Benj. Baker	Captain	£10 10	£10 10	month 2-27	£30 9 0
23 ditto	John Bissel	Mate	6 18	6 18	2-27	20 0 6
26 Jan.	Ezekil Mitchel his	Saler	3 6	3 6	M 2-22	9 0 4
29 Ditto	John × Jones mark	Saler	3 6	3 6	Mth 2-17	
25 Ditto	Gid. Jenkins	Raw hand	2 11	2 11	M 2-25	7 4 6
23 Jan.	Wm. Homes his	Cook	2 2	2 2	Mth 2-26	6 4 3
26 Jan.	Simon × Lavens mark	Saler	3 0	3 0	2-23	8 6 0
26 Ditto	Dom Smith	Saler	3 0	3 0	2-23	8 6 0
1 Feb.	Daniel Jones	Saler	3 6	3 6	2-17	8 11 7
2 Ditto			3 6	2 P4	2-17	6 18 9
			2 P4	£40 13		£113 8 5

APPENDIX I.

H. N. Slater's Reminiscences of Saml. Slater, his Father.

April 26, 1884.

The initial step towards cotton manufacturing in this country was taken when S. Slater, at the age of fourteen, in 1782 apprenticed himself to Strutt in England. Strutt was a partner of Arkwright, and had, perhaps, the best arranged mill, containing the new system of drawing, roving, and twisting cotton for warp and woof.

He finished his apprenticeship in 1789. The period 1782–89 was one of great poverty and depression in the United States. The Pennsylvanians wished to introduce the cotton manufacture, a duty of ten per cent. on the fabrics having been instituted under the new Constitution.

Samuel Slater was invited to come over, and at that time there were not more than five persons in England capable of conducting the business out of their own knowledge.

At New York he met Captain Curry, and was induced by his representations to correspond with Moses Brown, who with characteristic pluck and sagacity answered, "If thou canst do what thou sayst, I invite thee to come to Rhode Island, that I may have the credit and advantage of introducing cotton spinning."

Rhode Island would have seemed to be the last place for the enterprise, for it was not in the Union as yet.

The firm of Almy, Brown & Slater was formed, and started the manufacture of cotton yarns in Pawtucket in 1790, in all the perfection of the best mills in England. It was not imperfect, as has been said. Samuel Slater sent some yarns to his old master, who pronounced them as good as any. They were made from Surinam cotton, longer than our present Sea Island, and in fibre like silk.

Cotton sewing-thread was unknown in England, and we are indebted to the Wilkinson women in Pawtucket for the idea which initiated the invention. Using the yarn which had been spun in Pawtucket for a year and a half, these women — of a family remarkable for mechanical ingenuity — conceived the idea of a thread which should take the place of linen. They twisted the yarns on their domestic spinning-wheel, and made the first cotton thread in 1792. The manufacture was established by Wilkinson Bros.

When Almy, Brown & Slater had been producing yarns for about one year, the first panic in the American market for cotton goods occurred. Some 5,000 or 6,000 lbs. had accumulated, and the supply

had outrun the demand, apparently. Moses Brown said to his partner Slater, "If thee goes on, thee will spin up all our farms."

In the sparse population, one of the chief difficulties of the early manufacturers was in procuring operatives, or "help." The mills succeeding Slater's were located farther in the interior on this account. Mr. Slater was obliged to seek families, and induce them to emigrate to Pawtucket. He found one Arnold, with a family of ten or eleven, living near the village of ——, in a rude cabin chiefly made of slabs, and with a chimney of stone. The roof of this comfortless structure sloped nearly to the ground, but it was the home of these hardy people. Mrs. Arnold appreciated it fully, for when her husband consulted her on the proposed change, she insisted that Mr. Slater should give them as good a house as their old one.

The wages paid these operatives range from 80¢ to 130¢ or 140¢ per week. Pawtucket then contained not more than a dozen houses. There was no school and no church.

Slater introduced the English apprentice system, but it did not suit the American temperament, and was abandoned. One lad found the pressure hard and "Slater too strict." Again he complained to an older companion that he "could not stand it." "Very well," said his adviser, "Act like the Devil, and Slater will let you off."

At first Salem was the chief market. Hartford was opened next, when the supply accumulated; then Philadelphia became the chief mart of all. E. Waring, of Philadelphia, a Quaker, was the first commission merchant who sold the yarn. New York or Boston hardly took any of the product. Much was retailed at the mill. The first 13,000 lbs. of cotton carded at Pawtucket was picked by hand.

WEBSTER, *May* 1, 1884.

WM. B. WEEDEN, ESQ.

Dear Sir, — My talk on the evening of the 26th ult. was rambling and very informal, and without thought of its being published. I am surprised that you have been able to recall so much of it so well. At best, however, I consider what I said too incomplete to go into print until I find myself able to do the subject more careful justice.

Truly yours,

H. N. SLATER.

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